The Nation.

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The Week.

THE final vote in the House on the free-coinage issue on Friday was considerably larger than in committee of the whole on the previous day—305 on both sides, as against 270—but equally disastrous to the silverites, who fell considerably short of polling one-third, only 90 out of 305. An analysis of the vote shows how deceptive is the apparent strength of free coinage in the Senate as an index of popular sentiment. The nine States in the Rocky Mountain region and on the Pacific Slope —Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, and Washington—were solid for free coinage in the Senate save for one nay vote from Oregon; and those nine States have one-fifth of all the Senators. The same nine States were solid on the same side in the House on Friday, but they have altogether only one-twentieth of the Representatives. The utter hopelessness of the silver cause is demonstrated by the fact that the great States east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Ohio and Potomac, which dominate the popular branch, are already overwhelmingly against it, and growing more pronounced against it in each Congress. Even in the Senate the changes already assured will deprive the silverites of their present narrow majority after the 4th of March, 1897.

Senator Davis of Minnesota has made his speech in favor of the Davis resolution reported by the committee on foreign relations. This resolution has fallen so dead in the country at large that few people now remember its existence. Mr. Davis has drawn attention to the reasons for its early demise and speedy interment. The resolution, of course, had its rise and its very *raison d'être* in the Venezuelan boundary dispute. But as this dispute was over a question of fact, viz., Where did a certain boundary run? and did not necessarily involve the acquisition of new territory by a European Power, still less the introduction of a European system on this continent, the Monroe Doctrine was not concerned in the matter one way or the other. Mr. Olney and the President lugged it in, however. In order to leave themselves a line of retreat, they said that if Venezuela and Great Britain should come to an agreement as to the boundary, of course we should have nothing to say against it. "What's that?" exclaims Davis. "Beg your pardon; that gives away Monroe completely. Venezuela must not be allowed to cede her territory. It is the getting of the territory, and not the method of getting it, that threatens our security." That notion shuts off one method of ending the dispute. What is the alternative? Arbitration, says Davis. But suppose the arbitrators should give away the very same territory that Venezuela offered to give without arbitration. It is still the giving of the territory, and not the method of giving, that threatens our security. So there is logically no way of settling the question. After you have once introduced the Monroe Doctrine where it does not belong, then in order to reach any solution whatever you must go back to the beginning and reëxamine your premises. You pitchforked it in and now you must pitchfork it out. It is gratifying to learn, however, from the author of the Davis resolution that there will be no war.

Congress cannot stop to debate about going to war, but it can spend days in denouncing attempts to save money and put an end to governmental abuses. The agricultural appropriation bill is making slow progress in the House on account of the mad rush of speakers who want to expose Secretary Morton for cutting down their supplies of seeds. Things have reached such a pass that, as one indignant member said, he had but fifteen grape cuttings and twenty-five strawberry plants to distribute among 216,000 constituents. Can the Government long continue or conventions be packed under such a system? The only remedy was pointed out by Mr. Livingston of Georgia. Get a Secretary "in touch with the people"—above all, with the people that plough all the week, then unhitch their mule and ride him ten miles on Saturday night to get their mail in which they find a few papers of Government seeds, and cry out, "I am a citizen of a great country, and I am not forgotten, though never so humble!" There is no answering this, but the trouble is that Mr. Livingston and his kind have so many other awkward and expensive ways of reminding the plain people that they are citizens of a great country. A little while ago he was having us declare war with England for this purpose; and for the same end he says we must build the Nicaragua Canal, spend millions on a navy, and debase the currency. If seeds alone would do it, we might not object; but the entire process of making us citizens of a great country is certain to be so ruinous that we had better draw the line firmly even at worthless and expensive seeds.

The movement for a treaty of arbitration with Great Britain is gaining ground rapidly, and many newspapers which were hot for war on the subject of Venezuela a few weeks ago, are now urging the negotiation of such a treaty. One of the advantages of arbitration, which has not received the attention it deserves, is that it would largely dispense with the need of fleets and fortifications. The only object of battle-ships and heavy guns is fighting. The object of arbitration is to avoid fighting. Fighting is expensive, while arbitration is cheap. It may be assumed that a treaty of arbitration with England would enable us to dispense with 90 per cent. of the forts and fleets that the Jingoes are calling for, because none of them ever talk of war with any other country. We never hear any speeches from Lodge or Frye about war with France or Germany or Russia. If the Jingoes were deprived of the chance of war with England, they would be reduced to silence or compelled to address themselves to the arts of peace. A chance occasion might arise two or three times in a century for trouble with second or third-rate Powers like Spain or Chili, but these would not serve as a basis for a permanent Jingo party, or for extensive seacoast defences and a corresponding increase in the regular army. We are glad to learn that a conference of the friends of arbitration is soon to be held at Washington city, at which the various branch societies will be represented and the work of organization laid out on a large scale.

The *Evening Post* has taken some pains to procure a history of the Venezuelan concessions to American citizens which have cut some figure in the boundary dispute with British Guiana. We are glad to be able to say that at no period in the history of the Manoa Company, or of its successor, the Orinoco Company, so far as these researches go, has the existence of American interests in Venezuela had any influence with our Government in the premises, or any bearing in the dispute. On the contrary, it appears that when Mr. Olney's attention was attracted to those interests by a rather loud-sounding newspaper interview or letter of one of the Manoans, he took pains to let the Government of Venezuela know that such interests could in no way affect the treatment of the boundary question by us. The late Secretary Gresham, we have reason to believe, went a little further and warned certain persons in official life not to connect themselves privately with matters in which the Government might be publicly concerned. While it appears that our Government was entirely clear of influence or bias on this score, it is equally plain that the Venezuelan authorities expected to enlist political influence in this country by grants of land with indefinite boundaries, and that the grantees, construing "the limits of British Guiana" to suit themselves, entered upon the disputed territory; that when the British authorities warned them off, Gen. Guzman

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Blanco complained of this act as an assumption of British authority over the territory in question, in violation of the agreement to consider it neutral ground, and ignored completely the fact that the concessionaries had first invaded it and were acting under Venezuelan authority; that Blanco was himself a stockholder of the Manoa Company; that when he found out in 1886 that the Manoans were without influence at Washington, the land grant was cancelled and given to George Turnbull; and that Mr. Turnbull went to work to develop the property or some portion of it. Affairs ran on in this way until last June, when the Turnbull concession was revoked and that of the Manoa Company revived. It was then turned over to a Wisconsin corporation called the Orinoco Company, in which Mr. Donald Grant of Faribault, Minnesota, was the most important partner. The stock of the new company was fixed at $25,000,000, but, aside from this rather imposing capitalization and one or two journeys to Venezuela by the new proprietors, nothing of much interest has been done. It is said that the Government of Venezuela agrees that, in case the disputed territory goes eventually to British Guiana, it will grant territory of equal extent and value to the concessionaries, but in view of the frequent revolutions in that country such a promise cannot be considered a very safe one for the investment of money.

One of the pending proposals of the Senate is to kill all the seals on the Pribyloff Islands, to save them from the pelagic sealers—evidently a reminiscence of the famous policy of the beasts which "committed suicide to save themselves from slaughter." The seals are, however, not to be saved in this way without an attempt to get Great Britain to agree to more stringent regulations. It is difficult to see what Great Britain can do, however, in view of the fact that we have found out, since the Bering Sea arbitration, that a large proportion of the early sealers who made the trouble were Americans. Will not these wicked Americans continue their operations no matter what Great Britain can say or do? We fear they will, and therefore the seals must go. We shall be only too thankful if they go without causing war. We were very near saving these interesting beasts by a slaughter of men which would have beaten that of the pelagic villains hollow in numbers and atrocity.

We are now within four months of the Republican national convention, and the choice of delegates has already begun, "snap" conventions having been held in some Congressional districts of New York, Pennsylvania, and two or three Southern States. The time has therefore arrived when the political arithmeticians begin to construct tables of the probable totals for the various candidates, and the outlook is really becoming sufficiently clear to justify an opinion as to the probable outcome. The most striking feature of the situation is the strength of McKinley, particularly in the West. The Chicago *Tribune* and some other leading Republican newspapers in that section have made canvasses in several important States which seem to leave no doubt that the Ohio candidate has, at present, more support than all his rivals together. In Indiana he seems likely to secure two-thirds of the delegation; in Illinois, 98 out of 151 editors of Republican organs throughout the State, including the country weeklies, which usually reflect correctly local sentiment, are for him against the field; in Wisconsin, out of 53 well-known Republicans in different parts of the State questioned by the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, 34 are for McKinley, as against 10 for other candidates and 9 who express no preference; in Michigan, Republican editors in 34 counties report him first choice in 22; in Missouri out of 57 Republican editors 51 favor him. A curious and somewhat unexpected feature of the canvass is the fact that McKinley is stronger in the agricultural States of the West than in the manufacturing States of the East. This is due in part, of course, to the facts that New England has a candidate in Reed, and that the New York and Pennsylvania delegations are going to St. Louis nominally for Morton and Quay respectively; but even as second choice the Ohio aspirant is less of a favorite in the East than might have been expected.

McKinley's prominence as the representative of a high tariff gives him a tremendous advantage over his rivals in "the sinews of war." Since slavery was abolished, and a small class of rich planters in the South ceased to have an immense pecuniary interest in the control of the Government, we have never seen a time when so much capital saw its own advantage in the election to the Presidency of one man as the protected interests have to-day in the elevation of McKinley. His managers consequently can spend money with profusion in all of the many ways that contribute to the control of caucuses and conventions, and to the holding in line of delegates at St. Louis. This last is a matter of great importance as regards delegates from the South, who oftentimes can be bought more than once. In any such contest the representative of the protected interests is pretty sure to come out ahead. Already the Reed men complain that some of the delegates from Louisiana whom ex-Gov. Kellogg supposed that he had "fixed" for the Speaker, are out for McKinley. The latter has still another advantage over his rivals in the fact that he is now out of office, and can be "all things to all men," without being compelled to make choice between claimants for the privileges that the Speaker of the House dispenses, or to vote either for or against the silverites, as the Iowa Senator had to do the other day, or to decide whether he will stand with the boss or with the people, as the Governor of New York will soon be required to do. As regards silver especially, this helps McKinley in the silver States, which have delegates enough to be worth considering.

There is no question whatever of the truth and accuracy of the *Tribune's* statement of Platt's Greater New York plans. No other scheme of political rascality ever planned against the people of this city equals this. Lauterbach was so delighted with it when Platt unfolded it to him that he could not keep still about it, but at once told the Republican Boys of it. It means political places and plunder to an extent never dreamed of before, and for that reason not only the Republican politicians of this city, but those of all parts of the State, will be in favor of it. This is the danger which confronts the city. Platt's power over the Legislature is absolute. He holds up before all the Republican members and politicians from the rural districts the prospect of rule by Republican commissions of the great cities of New York and Brooklyn for an indefinite period, and they cannot resist its attraction. Then he proposes to create, with his liquor-tax bill, a State machine with "places" for hundreds of men, with control of the vast liquor interests of the whole State, and with the large cities taxed for the benefit of the rural sections. In the presence of all this gain for the rural sections, the "hayseed" legislator does not "stand dumb," but becomes vociferous with enthusiasm for Platt.

It must be realized by all opponents of Platt's designs that he is by far the most powerful boss this State has ever seen. Tammany bosses have had merely local power. They have had no strength behind them outside this city. Platt has the State behind him, with a large Republican majority, for it is in the rural sections that his machine is most powerful. For the first time now he has full control of the city machine, and his control of the Legislature is making it possible for him to plunder the cities for the benefit of the country. There has been much talk about Republican opposition to him in Brooklyn, but it is suspected that he has been able to overcome this during the past week. In fact, a boss with such a magnificent programme of plunder as he is unfolding is invincible in his own party. No politician can hold out long before so dazzling a vision. If the programme is to be carried out, if all the plunder is to be gathered into the hands of the boss for distribution, the first thought of every practical politician is not to be "left" when the distribution begins. It behooves all inhabitants of the two cities who do not wish to have their power to govern themselves filched from them, to wake up to the danger

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which menaces them and prepare at once to ward it off.

The proposal to abolish the institution of a Congressional and legislative chaplain of course encounters the opposition of conservatives who always stand for the maintenance of old traditions, but it is really not so radical a suggestion and not so unlikely to be accepted as was the idea of abolishing Fast Day in Massachusetts when it was first brought forward a few years ago. Indeed, it is entirely in keeping with the whole tendency of the age towards the disappearance of the public prayer. Col. T. W. Higginson, in the *Christian Register*, notes the revolution that has come about within his recollection in the matter of saying grace at the table, or "asking the blessing," as it is commonly called in New England, and having family prayers. In his boyhood there was scarcely a family in the First Parish of Cambridge which did not observe each of these customs; he thinks that twenty would be a large estimate of the number which still keep up the practice. At a public dinner over which Col. Higginson presided last winter, he asked "one of the most eminent of Unitarian clergymen," who sat near him, whether he had better invite anybody to say grace, and was promptly informed that it was ceasing to be customary, and advised against it. Last summer "another eminent Unitarian minister" dined with him, and the host, as a matter of courtesy to him, requested him to ask a blessing. "He did so; but it seemed as if he did not expect it, and I thought it would be better not to take the thing for granted again." Col. Higginson adds that in a somewhat frequent stay at private houses on lecturing trips he has been very much struck with the almost entire disappearance of these external signs of devoutness among Unitarians, and their diminution among orthodox Christians.

Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch of February 4 to the High Commissioner for South Africa, reference to which has been made in telegrams, and which has played an important part in the Parliamentary debates on the Transvaal question, was published in full in the London papers of February 8. It is certainly an extraordinary document, and that it should have wakened the Calvinistic wrath of President Krüger is not wonderful. It consists of two parts, the first being a long explanation of the attitude of the Colonial Office towards the Jameson raid, which Mr. Chamberlain easily shows to have been at once correct and vigorous. But he thereupon, directly after declaring that the South African Republic is "a free and independent government as regards all its internal affairs," goes on to suggest a number of sweeping changes in the Transvaal constitution and laws. These relate not only to naturalization and the franchise, but to the conduct of the finances and to taxation; to the hardships of the working classes; the "resentment" caused by monopolies; the "grievances" in connection with the "labor question"; and, to crown all, Mr. Chamberlain rather imperiously advises Krüger to give the Rand district at once "a modified local autonomy." This unprecedented interference with "a free and independent government" Mr. Chamberlain defended in the Commons as the untrammelled methods of a fresh and direct mind applied to diplomacy, going straight to the point without regard to musty conventions. However, if President Krüger was offended, he would withdraw his remarks. Nothing could be handsomer. Meanwhile, it will be gratifying to the bewildered friends of Chamberlain, the ex-social-reformer, to find him enthusiastic in enforcing a social programme in the Transvaal, no matter how England may suffer from his neglect, and to learn that he is strong for home rule in the Rand, whatever be the fate of Ireland.

An interesting discussion is in progress in England as to the exact time at which a man can be said to become a candidate for office. The question has arisen at the trial of election petitions under the corrupt-practices act, which makes certain the unseating of any candidate who can be shown to have used influence of any kind to promote his own election. In one case the Justice conducting the inquiry held that "no definite period could be stated as to when an election began." In another, the Justice held that the election began "when it was first known that the candidate had announced his intention to present himself as a candidate at the next ensuing election." In another, the Justice held that "an election begins as soon as a candidate begins to hold meetings." A correspondent of the London *Times*, citing these somewhat conflicting rulings, asks if any gentleman is at liberty, in every possible way, and for any length of time before the actual day of issuing an election address, to "nurse" a constituency with a view to having a field well prepared when he takes the field formally later. There have been many decisions under the English act which have unseated members of Parliament for "nursing" which was followed by a candidacy later, but in all instances a connecting link has been established between the preliminary work and the subsequent campaign. In this country the "nursing" begins very early, and is at once universally recognized as the preparatory step to a candidacy, prompting some such general inquiry as "What's his game?" or "What is the old man running for now?"

There is a doleful account in the *Contemporary Review*, from Mr. Eubule Evans, of the existing condition of the government in Germany as the result of the great military triumph of 1870. Editors guilty of *lèse-majesté* are no longer allowed out on bail pending their trial. They are brought up for trial in prison dress, in heelless slippers, to prevent their running away, and with metal numbers on their breasts. *Lèse-majesté*, or *Majestätsbeleidigung*, is a queer thing. A man in Cologne last October was discussing the American Constitution. He had just returned from this country, and was eloquent in praise of our system of government, and then was going on to discuss the Kaiser, and said: "As for the Kaiser"—when he suddenly realized his danger, and stopped short. But he was overheard and denounced to the police, arrested, tried, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment for what he was evidently going to say. At Danzig, a man was called on to appraise a plaster bust of the Empress. He said it was not worth a mark. *Majestätsbeleidigung.* He was tried but acquitted. Last summer, at Bonn, a man in a pleasure party said: "What a fool that Kaiser is!" He was overheard. *Majestätsbeleidigung.* He was arrested and taken to the police station, but was able to show that he meant a man named "Kaiser."

A common mode of concealing *Majestätsbeleidigung* in conversation from the servants is to allude to the Kaiser as "Herr Müller." Speech was, in fact, freer under Louis the Great in France two hundred years ago than it is in Germany to-day under William the Wise. And it must be remembered that a great people have been brought into this condition through war. The tremendous military successes of 1866 and 1870 have turned the state into an army, turned a large portion of the talent of the country into the invention of quicker modes of killing people and destroying property, have made the writers and thinkers and debaters seem paltry fellows, who ought not to be listened to, and have converted a rather light-headed young man, who in a private station would be an unsuccessful "crank," into a terrible "war-lord," who has to be protected from even a breath of obloquy by all the terrors of penal justice. If we became a warlike military nation we should lay in a supply of *Majestätsbeleidigung* much quicker than the Germans. We should go twice as crazy over victories, because we train ourselves in excitability; and we should lock up or expel from the country people who differed from us or criticised our madness far more readily than the Germans, for a similar reason. We should soon have a young man like Mr. Roosevelt for a "war-lord," and he would keep us fighting continually and lock us up whenever we said we did not want to be killed. "Dogs," he would say to us, as Frederick the Great said to his soldiers when they shrank from a desperate charge, "do you want to live always?"

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THE VENEZUELAN SURPRISE.

THE speeches in Parliament, combined with Mr. Olney's application for British assistance for our commission, show that after much trouble we have at last got back to the position in which we stood before Mr. Olney wrote his despatch on the 20th of July last—or, if any one prefers it, in which we stood before the President wrote his message on the 17th of December. A gentlemanly note, such as Mr. Bayard wrote the other day to Lord Salisbury, would have undoubtedly secured the information we are now asking for, without the alarm and loss which have since intervened. In fact, if, as we suggested in December, the President had taken the threat out of the message by a letter of pacific instruction to the newly appointed commission, the trouble might have been allayed at once.

The speeches in Parliament show clearly that there is a strong desire on both sides not to quarrel with the United States on any subject, and least of all on the Monroe Doctrine. They show, also, the great surprise which both sides have felt on hearing that the Monroe Doctrine was involved in the Venezuelan dispute. But their surprise was probably no greater than ours here. It must be remembered that the appeals of the Venezuelans to us to take part in the controversy began in 1870 and continued with little intermission down to last year. Six American secretaries answered these appeals over a period of twenty-five years, both through correspondence with Great Britain and with Venezuela, and not one of them ever suggested that Great Britain was infringing on the Monroe Doctrine. Every one of them took up the attitude of the common friend of two quarrelling Powers. The discovery that Great Britain was threatening Venezuela with a violation of the Doctrine was made suddenly by Secretary Olney immediately after his accession to office. The American public had no idea of what was impending. It is true that for nearly a year Lodge, Chandler, Frye, the *Tribune's* Old Pensioner, and one or two others, had been engaged in a sort of antiphonal caterwauling about Venezuela, but as they caterwauled in just the same way about the Nicaraguan affair and the *Alliança* incident, the general impression was that they were merely preparing the country for a Jingo Presidential canvass. Few or none imagined that the State Department was taking them seriously. Senator Lodge and the Pensioner tried to give an air of seriousness to their labors by frequently describing the true Anglo-Venezuelan boundary line in print, and the exact nature and extent of Great Britain's encroachments, but nobody paid them much attention. If Senator Lodge knew as much about the matter as he said he did, it was to him, and not to Great Britain, that the Commission should have addressed itself for "documentary proof, historical narrative, unpublished archives, and other evidence." But nobody supposed that the State Department was paying any more heed to him than were other sensible people.

The whole affair having now got back to the region of civility and friendliness, it will do immense good if it brings home to our public the uselessness and unseemliness of what the Pensioner used to call a "vigorous foreign policy"—that is, the plan of addressing violent, menacing, if not ruffianly, despatches to foreign Powers. There is nothing in the field of international politics better established than the readiness of European Powers to put up with anything from us except direct and palpable insult or seizure of ships or territory. A quarrel with us is something from which they all shrink, because it promises no advantage and plenty of expensive fighting. Everything which has happened since Monroe's day, except the invasion of Mexico during the civil war, proves this. The stories the news agencies invent every now and then of a determination of Great Britain to assume a bellicose attitude towards us, by purchasing Cuba from Spain, or seizing Hawaii from the missionaries, are childishly silly. There is nothing which practical men in Europe view with more wonderment than our naval preparations and our apparent desire to fight somebody, because the ocean which surrounds us is in itself worth four of the largest fleets and four of the largest armies in the world. We cannot, in fact, have a quarrel except by undertaking war as an educational agency. Consequently there is no nation which needs less to vapor and threaten or crow in its diplomatic correspondence.

Our State Department might safely and ought always to illustrate to the world the majesty of moderation, the dignity of good manners. The great difficulty in the way of such a consummation is the press, which with few exceptions is apt to call for violent language in terms which shake the nerves of secretaries of state. Worse than this, it does its best to prevent the settlement of any international dispute on terms which will not hurt the foreigner's self-respect by always representing, when he meets us half way, that it was our "vigor"—that is, our insolence, abusiveness, and brutality—that brought him to terms. It is at this devil's work at this moment, by proclaiming that it was Mr. Cleveland's coarse threat which has "brought England to her knees," that it is our swagger which has drawn forth the pacific and friendly language of both the Ministry and Opposition in England, and the civil treatment accorded to our Commission; that, in short, in international affairs the ruffianly way is the more excellent way. It is impossible, when one reads this stuff, to avoid the conclusion that the widespread desire for war, the existence of which there is no denying—war with somebody, but especially with England—is largely newspaper work; and we know of nothing which reflects or has reflected more discredit on our civilization—not slavery, not lynching, not corruption, not lawlessness. We do not believe there is anything which has during the last century done so much to discourage the believers in human progress as the revelation that "Time's noblest offspring" was as full of desire to kill and wreck, for the fun of the thing, as the savage races on the site of whose corn-patches and torture-stakes we are erecting churches and colleges.

THE FUNCTION OF DISCUSSION.

Now that the Venezuela question has, after fearful uproar, passed into the field which it should never have left, that of investigation of facts, it is time to ask who is hereafter to discuss these differences with foreign nations. There can be no doubt that our government is framed on the assumption that it will be carried on by discussion—that is, by the practice of oral or written persuasion. The President is elected by a majority vote, after prolonged discussion. Both houses of Congress are supposed to resolve and enact after discussion. The regulation of discussion has become an important art, known as parliamentary procedure, in which every American youth is proud to be versed. The duty of hearing both sides has become an elementary principle of public morality. We take pains to teach our young men in colleges the art of debate—that is, the art of producing the two views which may be taken of nearly every social and political problem. All this, too, is done not as a means of sharpening the wits, like the controversies of the Schoolmen, but as a means of preparation for action of some kind. To discussion which does not pretend to prepare for action, we give the name of "academic," and everybody who wishes to be considered practical, or a man of business, declines to engage in it. And in discussing as a preparation for action, we are following an unbroken tradition of the human race since governments were first founded. The Greeks and Romans debated on public affairs much as we do, and even the Oriental despots were apt to have an inner council, whose advice they sought, which contained men who would produce the cons as well as the pros of any undertaking on which the sovereign was inclined to enter. That very ancient and much quoted saying, that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety," does not mean that everything that a large number of men hurrah for is sure to be wise, but that what many men have decided on, after discussion from different points of view, is likely to be a good thing to do.

The thing which our Government seemed to consider wise in December last, a challenge to a first-class Power to fight over the untraced boundary of a semi-barbarous state in a tropical wilderness, was the third most solemn and serious proposal ever made in the name of the

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American people. The first was the Declaration of Independence.. The second was the opening of the war for the subjugation of the South in 1861. The two former were the result of great and protracted debate. The war of independence was prepared for by about ten years' discussion; that of 1861 by about thirty years' discussion. The challenge of last December received no discussion at all. The framers of the Constitution copied many things from the European monarchies, and in some particulars made the President more powerful than the King of England. But one power possessed by all European monarchs they denied him—that of declaring war. This was something they refused to trust to any one man's judgment or caprice. They gave it to the Legislature, with the evident design of making war a debatable subject—that is, of insuring public deliberation on it before it took place. To give a power to a legislature means that it shall be exercised only through public discussion, for in no other way can a legislature act.

But, oddly enough, although the framers of the Constitution made the change, it seems never to have been fully accepted mentally by the American public. It held on, and holds on to this day, to the old monarchical idea that when the King decides to go to war, it is no business of his subjects whether he is right or wrong. All they have to do is to "stand behind him" when he is defying the foe, and to follow him to the field when hostilities have begun. In all our recent disputes with foreigners, Congress and the politicians and the press have acted on this view. It found full expression in the Chilian trouble, in the Bering Sea dispute, and the other day in the Venezuelan affair. We were all expected either to keep silent when these controversies were being carried on, no matter what might be our opinion of their merits, or to take sides as vehemently as we could with our own Government. The Executive was to be allowed to occupy whatever positions it pleased, provided they were likely to promote hostilities, and our business was simply to help it to defend them. During the Chilian trouble the press, both daily and monthly, teemed with curious and absolutely novel doctrines of law and ethics, concocted solely as weapons of war. In the pending Venezuelan trouble, too, although we have seen hundreds if not thousands of newspaper comments, we cannot recall more than three or four which admitted that there was any question about the right or wrong of the matter, or that Great Britain had a leg to stand on. In fact, the vast majority of the newspapers contented themselves with roundly abusing people who thought the President ought not to fight England on a week's notice.

It is plain to be seen that under this system the relegation of the war-making power to Congress does us no good whatever. For all practical purposes the Constitution might as well have empowered the President to declare war for such reasons as might seem good to him, and to procure from Congress as much money as he might think necessary for the expenses of the fight. But a state of things which would entail no great inconvenience on the community under Edward III. or Henry V., when the nation was made up of small farmers, and had neither commerce nor credit, has very serious inconvenience in modern times, when every great nation has vast dealings with all others, and when, instead of hoarding gold, it relies on its credit to supply it with funds for emergencies. To such a nation no event is so grave as a war with a Power of nearly its own strength. Nothing can occur in its daily life needing so much debate. Its readiness for the contest, and the possible consequences of defeat, are among the most serious concerns of a civilized community. Instead of "standing behind" a man who proposes such a thing, and egging him on, the place of the patriot is in front of him, so as to demand a full account of his reasons. The more Congress, too, refuses or fails to discuss the situation, the more incumbent on the press is it to step into the gap and take up the neglected work of the Legislature; but it seems to be the last thing our press thinks of. What it has for the most part done during the late excitement is to "holler" that everything that anybody did which made for war was wise and good, and that whatever anybody did that made for peace was asinine, or corrupt, or English. This may be true, but such decisions should be reached through discussion—that is, after hearing what was to be said for peace. No man who advocates peace is, *ipso facto*, foolish. Peace is so earnestly desired by the bulk of men that there must always be some excuse for it which will bear stating.

A SPECIMEN SPANISH-AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

At the close of last year appeared a work, 'Il Guatamala,' by Tommaso Caivano, a Florentine lawyer who has spent many years in Central and South America, and has written several works which have had a wide circulation among Spanish-Americans. We count it timely that by the publication of this latest volume, Sig. Caivano enables us to see exactly what a Spanish-American republic is like to-day. Recent experience shows that we may be plunged without warning into difficulties, perhaps even into war, through entanglements with one or other of the sanguinary governments to the south of us; it is fortunate, therefore, that we should have put within our reach, by an intelligent and impartial foreigner, information which strips off illusions. During the past few months we have heard a great deal of effusive praise of our noble fellow-republicans in Venezuela and in other parts of Latin America, and of condemnation for British monarchists. Let us see what one of these republics really is.

After giving a rapid history of Guatemala from the time of its conquest down to last summer, Sig. Caivano describes very clearly the various elements of population by which the destiny of the country has been determined. These elements are three in number, viz.: (1) the creoles, or pure-blooded descendants of the Spanish settlers, who now form only about 5 per cent. of the whole; (2) the *ladinos* or *mestizos*, half-breeds, sprung from the intermingling of the Spaniards and Indians, and numbering about 15 per cent.; (3) the Indians, virtually serfs, who make up the remaining 80 per cent. In 1821 Guatemala declared herself independent of Spain, and called herself a republic. With Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica she formed a confederation whose character can be sufficiently inferred from the fact that she and her confederates fought 143 battles with one another in the course of twenty years. Then the league was dissolved. From 1842 to 1871 the government was in the hands of the creoles, who succeeded not only in maintaining order, but in engrafting on the country some of the rudiments of civilization. But in 1871 the *ladinos*, or half-breeds, stirred up a revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the creoles, and the establishment in power of the mongrel race which still dominates Guatemala.

The champion of this race was Rufino Barrios, who soon made himself President, and remained tyrant of Guatemala, until killed by a beneficent bullet in 1885, in a fight with the Salvadorians. The atrocities committed by this human tiger equal any recorded of ancient Roman despots, or of Renaissance Eccelinos and Viscontis, or of modern Turks. He proposed to wipe out the creoles, who alone had given Guatemala a veneer of law and decency. He had hundreds of them arrested and cast into loathsome dungeons, where they were daily given fifty or a hundred lashes, until some died and others, mutilated for life, by confessing imaginary plots, implicated new victims. For his afternoon amusement, he caused many of his enemies to be publicly shot in the principal square of the capital; in three days, seventeen persons were thus destroyed. Not content with wreaking his ferocity on men, he had the wives and daughters of his enemies exposed stark naked in cages. He revived the old Spanish *mandamientos*, or decrees, which reduced the Indian population to slavery. Needless to say, he levied taxes and emptied the treasury for his personal enriching. Such was the "panther of San Marcos," as the Guatemalese nicknamed him from his native village.

His nephew, Reina Barrios, the present President, began life as a street-sweeper; then was promoted by his uncle to superintend the flagellation of prisoners; then,

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on the death of Rufino Barrios, fled the country, and was leading a dissolute life in what Sig. Caivano euphemistically calls an *appartement meublé* at Saratoga, when he was called back in 1892 to govern Guatemala. He is not charged with such inhuman crimes as his uncle, possibly because the latter's purging was so thorough as to render the creoles henceforth too weak to be persecuted; but his tyranny has been equally absolute. He makes and breaks the laws at will; he controls taxation; he grants and revokes concessions to monopolists; he sets aside the decisions of the courts. Every department of government, the judiciary, the bureaus of administration and police, are but organized blackmailing agencies; but the suitor who would be sure of satisfaction must bargain with the President himself. What a contemptible creature that President is, with his mixture of braggart and coward, Sig. Caivano describes with vivid strokes. The spectacle of the General-in-Chief of Guatemala needing a chair to mount his horse before reviewing his tatterdemalion army would draw a smile from even the fiercest Jingo.

Sig. Caivano closes his book with an account of the great "public works" which President Barrios and his satellites have been engaged in for several years in the hope of luring foreign capitalists to put more millions within their grasp. They promise before 1898 to complete a railroad between the capital and Puerto Barrios, on the Gulf of Mexico, which will bring the city of Guatemala within easy reach of tourists from the United States and Europe; but the line of this road has been surveyed through an almost impassable mountainous region, 150 miles across, which must not only make its construction enormously expensive (to the grief of the foreigners who are to provide the funds), but also preclude it from earning running expenses, should it ever be finished. At the capital, Guatemala, a city of 70,000 inhabitants, there is projected a park 368 hectares (about 1,000 acres) in extent, with artificial lakes, grottoes, and fountains, besides drives and walks, shrubberies, gardens, and a race-course; the whole connected with the town by a magnificent boulevard two miles and three-quarters long. In the city itself a grand hotel, with 300 splendid suites of rooms, a theatre, baths, etc., etc., is to make the astonished millionaire tourists of the United States and Europe forget Paris and New York. The ulterior motive of these grandiose schemers is to establish a gambling hell which shall eclipse that of Monte Carlo.

Sig. Caivano ironically contrasts this project, designed to dazzle foreign lenders of money, with the squalor and filth of Guatemala itself—a town which has no sewers nor drainage and very few cesspools; which depends solely upon thousands of *zopilotes*, or buzzards, to rid it of the carrion, garbage, and ordure heaped in the streets and courtyards; a town in which typhus fever and smallpox are endemic, and where assassins and robbers make going out after dark unsafe; a town where most of the houses are only one story high, and correspondingly primitive in their internal arrangements. This is the place which Barrios plans to transform into a resort for the rich, the fastidious, and the dissipated pleasure-seekers of two continents!

We have left no space for speaking of the other subjects which Sig. Caivano treats of, such as the beauty of the scenery, the manners and customs of the people, the difficulties of travel, the oppression of the Indians, etc., etc. He is an observant traveller and an entertaining writer; but at the present crisis his great merit, as we have remarked, lies in his furnishing us with a truthful picture of a Spanish-American government. Volumes of Jingo rhodomontade over "our sister republics" are powerless against a page of his facts. His book, which has recently been issued in Italian and in Spanish, ought to be translated into English, and widely read by those of our people who want to know what sort of cattle our Government is asked by the perverters of the Monroe Doctrine to go to war for.

THE REAL CONQUESTS OF SCIENCE.

THE extraordinary rapidity with which the Röntgen discovery has been taken up in a thousand laboratories all over the world, and eagerly tested in its various applications and possibilities, is one of the most striking things about it. It has clearly set the scientific as well as the popular imagination on fire. The routine work of hundreds of trained observers and experimenters has been dropped, and they are giving their days and nights to ardent exploration of the apparently illimitable new province opened before them in industry and medicine, as well as in higher physical theory.

By the very existence of so great a body of scientific minute-men, ready for skilled service in any quarter on short notice, we are enabled to measure the assured march and achievements of science. Its thorough organization and its successful use of the coöperative method now give to every new discovery the certainty of speedy investigation by expert hands, unlooked-for extensions, and the widest application. This goes far to make up for the dying out of great all-round naturalists. One of the addresses before the Ipswich meeting of the British Association lamented the disappearance of the type of scientific mind like Darwin's or Dana's, which, in addition to special researches and distinction in some branch or branches, possesses wide-ranging knowledge and enormous power of generalization. But many smaller minds intelligently coöperating can do the work of one great mind. It is as if the brain-cells were simply scattered through many heads, instead of being housed in a single skull. In this way science holds her attainments and makes the future secure. The present revelation of the powerful and flexible instrument which she has at her disposal in the shape of trained investigators in all civilized lands, waiting only for a hint in order to surprise the world with new secrets of nature, must dispel all doubts of the permanency of scientific enthusiasm and of the services of science to mankind.

But vast as the practical benefits of the Röntgen photography promise to be, we are inclined to rate their indirect and what may be called their theoretic benefits higher. We mean their effect on the general attitude towards science and scientific methods. Utilitarian science is enormously valuable, is indispensable, but the scientific temper—the fronting of the universe with the calmness, the sobriety, the honesty of a scientific experimenter—is the great thing to aim at, and the utility of science is most useful when it promotes this. Leslie Stephen says with great truth and force:

> "We may denounce, and very rightly, those coarse forms of utilitarianism which impiy an excessive love of mere material advantages; but it is not to be forgotten that the prestige acquired by modern science depends in great measure upon its application to purposes of direct utility. Railways and telegraphs are not everything. Most true! but the prospect of bringing the ordinary creeds of mankind into harmony with scientific conclusions depends, in no small degree, upon the general respect for men of science; and that respect, again, depends materially upon the fact that men of science can point to such tangible results as railroads and telegraphs. We need not fear to admit that, if there is a greater chance now than formerly of the ablest intellects acquiring a definite supremacy, and resisting the constant tendency of mankind to lapse into superstition, it is in great degree because such conquests over the material world can be appreciated even by the ignorant, and reflect credit upon that system of thought with which they are associated."

It is this increasing power of science over the general imagination, this unperceived but sweeping change in the mental attitude of whole nations wrought by it, which makes it the great solvent and conqueror that it is. Its kingdom cometh without observation. There are no violent cataclysms, no fierce struggles, no one deadly contest from which dates a new way of looking at the world. By insensible gradations, by subconscious mental processes, the old passes away and the new is ushered in. Historians note with surprise, at one interval after another, that persistent superstitions lose their power—now the belief in witchcraft, now in the royal touch. Definite causes for their abandonment cannot be assigned; they seem silently to drop to the bottom of the stream of thought, by their own weight. All we know is, that one generation trembles before them, the next one flouts them. Such subtle changes it is the peculiar province of science to bring about; and the secondary effects in this direction of every great quickening of the life and imagination of science, like the happy accident of Prof. Röntgen, are certain to be great.

Dr. Johnson used to maintain in his

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fine regal way that the study of external nature could never be "the great and frequent business of the human mind." The "moral and religious discrimination of right and wrong" was the great affair; and he had characteristic words of contempt for those troublesome "innovators" of his own day who thought that the growth of plants or the motions of the stars had anything to do with education. Futile and barren enough has that position been made by the flight of a hundred years. The discriminators between right and wrong are just about where they were in Johnson's time—except as social evolution and scientific advance have opened up entire kingdoms of morals then unknown. But the "innovators" have gone on watching plant and star, interrogating the heavens above and the earth beneath, until the whole material condition and mental outlook of the race has been changed.

We are far from asserting that all is now clear sailing. The stubborn power of ignorance to wrest every new scientific scripture to its own destruction is already beginning to display itself in connection with the wonderful Röntgen discovery. Quack doctors are quick to say, "Aha, this shows that our electric rings and mesmeric belts and psychic brushes and combs are just what we claim them to be." The mysterious cathode rays, invisible but powerful, will doubtless renew the faith of many a despairing brother who carries a potato in his pocket for rheumatism. What the theological apologists will argue from the apparent need of readjusting the theory of light, those of our readers who are skilled in their methods of reasoning can guess. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the reasonableness of prayer for rain, the duty of instantly subscribing both to the creed and for the religious weekly of the able editor making the argument, will be among the very least of the things conclusively proved by the new photography. But even this folly, with which the gods themselves contend in vain, must yield in the end to the slow attrition of time, to the steady blowing of the wind by which science at last clears the densest minds of fog.

CONDÉ AND THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

PARIS, January 29, 1896.

THE Duke d'Aumale has brought to the end he had marked for himself the 'History of the Princes de Condé.' He can say now his "Exegi monumentum." The last volume of his great work is quite worthy of the great hero whose actions he has taken so much trouble to describe minutely, and whom he represents spending the last years of a troubled life in the calm of Chantilly. It will interest all those who have visited Chantilly to read the pages descriptive of the life of the Prince de Condé ("le héros," as he was called by Mme. de Sévigné) in his splendid retreat.

There is a chapter which gives quite unknown details about Condé's conduct during the period of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Speaking of this year 1685, which was marked by several considerable events in the life of Condé (the death of Cardinal de Retz, to whom Condé had become attached, the death of La Rochefoucauld, the death of Guitant, his great friend), the Duke d'Aumale adds:

"Why must this year also have been one of the shameful dates in the history of France and have witnessed a real mutilation of our country? The work of Henri IV. and of Richelieu was sacrificed to the scruples of a narrow and blind conscience, to the abstract conception of a power without limits, to the passion for uniformity which (even to our day) has always been confounded with unity by French minds; source of errors and of faults! Certain modern schools have preserved the brutal traditions of Louvois, the pitiless leveller. How many industries ceased to flourish! Some disappeared for ever; and it is by hundreds of thousands that we must reckon the Frenchmen, and some of the best among them, who were ruined, dispersed, destroyed! There are wounds which never heal."

The Duke d'Aumale found in his rich archives the letters of two regular correspondents of the Prince de Condé, who gave him exact accounts of what was going on, one in the west of France, the other in the south. Already in 1682—three years, therefore, before the final revocation of the Edict of Toleration—the intendants in the west were trying to put an end to the Reformed churches. M. de Morin, one of the correspondents, who writes from Poitou, tells of nothing but of churches shut, ministers arrested, women thrown into prison. Already all the inhabitants of Sables d'Olonne have emigrated; others are hindered by force from emigrating, and obliged to undergo conversion. Condé had among his friends a M. de Lussan, who had been wounded by his side in the wars; a brave officer, but an intolerant Catholic. Lussan is delighted when the dragoons are sent against the Protestants and lodged in their houses, "where they are the masters as in time of war." He writes to Condé in 1683: "Now is the time to finish these wretches and to destroy completely these Huguenots and their religion; the ministers think of nothing but flight, and their churches will be razed to the ground." From Languedoc Mlle. de Portès, a relation of Condé, writes to him that she is alarmed—the Huguenots are preparing for a struggle. But she is soon reassured; the times are past when Rohan conducted a long war in that province. Mlle. de Portès announces in later letters that Vivarais, one of the old strongholds of the Protestants, has made a complete submission.

The Edict of Revocation is proclaimed; its effects are terrific. Gourville, the old and sceptical friend of Condé, writes to him: "The Huguenots of Montpellier and of the diocese have been converted in a body; in three weeks there will not be a single Huguenot in Languedoc." The Prince receives similar news from Alais, from the Cévennes, from Sancerre, once an impregnable citadel of the Reformation. The Bishop of Autun writes to Condé that in Burgundy the conversions take place without the help of the dragoons; there is, however, here and there, some resistance. "No progress has been made with M. de Jaucourt (the Jaucourts have remained Protestants to this day), nor with Madame de Saint André Montbrun. This lady has declared that, at the age of seventy-two, people cannot change their religion." From Rouen, Condé received many letters from a certain Father Tixier, a Benedictine charged with the mission of caring for the last of the Longuevilles, who had lost his reason and who was living in the Abbey of Saint-Georges at Bocherville, near Rouen. Condé was the uncle and guardian of this unfortunate young man. The letters which Father Tixier wrote regularly to Condé are, says the Duke d'Aumale, "more striking in their severe simplicity than the passionate accounts of the Protestants. Full of facts, free from declamation, they form a crushing indictment against the revocation of the Edict of Nantes." Father Tixier is perfectly sincere and truthful. He writes, for instance, that a poor shopkeeper of Rouen, who had to quarter and feed in his house four cuirassiers in order that the fear of ruin might induce him to be converted, said: "My life, as well as my fortune, belongs to the King; my conscience belongs to God." Father Tixier says also: "The new converts are greater Huguenots than they were before." Many poor people, frightened at first, became converted, but, after a while, torn with remorse, they forsook the mass and returned to the *prêche;* then they were proclaimed *relaps* and prosecuted, and if, on their death bed, they refused the sacraments, their property was confiscated.

It is easy to imagine what effect such incidents produced on the mind of Condé; he could not forget that his ancestors had been, in the heroic times of the Reformation, the great military leaders of the Huguenots, and that some of them had died for their cause on the battlefield. His father, to be sure, had been brought up a Catholic, and, after having for a time given some hopes to the Protestants, had finally turned against them with all the violence of a convert, had become their avowed enemy, the personal adversary of the Duke de Rohan, the last great military leader of the Huguenots. But Condé had never espoused the fervor of his father; he had been notorious in his youth for his infidelity; he had surrounded himself in his earlier years with men who were called *libertins.* Many of these had died in the wars; when Condé came back to Chantilly he kept in his household those who had survived. He had around him a number of gentlemen and domestics who were Protestants, and they lived in harmony and on a footing of perfect equality with the Jesuits whom Condé's father had established in Chantilly. The Edict of Revocation, therefore, touched Condé personally. He was eminently tolerant, whether deriving his tolerance from old traditions or from his philosophical views. He had studied Spinoza, he was a philosopher; he could not bring himself to obey the tyrannical proscriptions of the edict. He remained passive, and took no measures against the Protestants established for a long time in the barony of Montmorency, nor against those of Villiers-le-Bel and Écouen. An old servant at Chantilly, named Lafont, could not be induced to change his religion. He was at the time with his family at Verneuil. We read in a letter addressed to the Prince: "They put the grenadiers in his house; so he determined to follow M. de Verneuil to the chapel. He knelt before the altar; the curate read him the formula of what he had to believe; he rose without saying a word. The grenadiers left his house, and he returned to Chantilly." This conversion seemed a little summary, but Condé, judging that Lafont had conformed to the edict, ordered that he should be let alone.

We find, in the Duke d'Aumale's book, many dramatic episodes of the terrible persecution. We see, for instance, how much interest Condé took in the case of an old client of his house, M. de Morin, the son of a president of the Parlement of Guyenne, and of his brother, a councillor of the *chambre de l'Édit* at the same Parlement. The Councillor, having re-

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solved not to renounce his religion, he hid himself in Paris; his wife found an asylum in the château of Chantilly. Morin had a child, whom he thought well hidden with him; but his son was taken from him, as the edict did not allow the obstinate Huguenots to keep their children. With much difficulty, Morin succeeded in having his child placed in the house of his tutor, M. de Mondion. He himself departed for Neuchâtel, where he was recommended by Condé to the authorities.

"Let us not forget," says the Duke d'Aumale, "that when Condé gave to Morin and to others the means of crossing the frontier of the kingdom, when he assured them by his recommendations an asylum in foreign parts as well as a livelihood, he performed an act of courageous humanity, an infraction of the orders of the King, which he was accustomed to respect so scrupulously; for the severest punishments were decreed against Huguenots who should attempt to fly, or those who should favor their flight. It was later that the King relaxed his severity on this point and tolerated the departure of so many unfortunates for whom the kingdom had been transformed into a prison; and then began the fatal exodus which deprived the country of so many good citizens, and filled foreign countries with irreconcilable enemies of France."

Morin did not remain long at Neuchâtel; he left for Holland, where the French Protestants had begun to group themselves round the Prince of Orange. They recognized as a sort of a chief a son of La Force, the marquis who had, many years before, followed Condé in exile and had never returned to France. In Holland, Morin continued to receive a pension from Condé.

Louis XIV. allowed only one Huguenot to leave France with a passport; it was the Marquis de Ruvigny, who had long been the deputy-general of the Reformed churches of France at the court, a sort of ambassador near the King. Ruvigny had played a great part in the times of the troubles, and was personally liked by the King, but he refused to conform to the Edict of Revocation. Before leaving France, Ruvigny wished to give to Condé a public mark of his deference and of the gratitude of the Protestants who had experienced his kindness and his tolerance. He asked permission to stop on his way to exile at Chantilly with his family, and he spent there a day and a night. Ruvigny recommended the Huguenots to Condé before departing. He was to see him no more; Condé was old, broken by the gout, and already thinking of putting "an interval between life and death," and meditating how he should make his own conversion before dying. He had never been in the habit of receiving the communion, he was what we to-day should call a free-thinker. The Jesuits who lived in his house had been carefully chosen among the most cultured and refined men of the order; they were treated as friends by Condé—they were not his spiritual guides. Nothing can be more interesting, for those who wish to penetrate the depths of the human soul, than the final chapter in which the Duke d'Aumale tells us in what manner Condé prepared himself for his latter end: what thoughts engaged him, what were his preoccupations before leaving the stage which he had filled with so much glory, and on which he had led such a checkered life.

Correspondence.

JEFFERSON'S DRAFTS OF THE KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS OF 1798.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There is a certain absurdity in imagining that anything material on the doctrine of nullification can still be added to the elaborate discussions of nearly one hundred years, after the entire disappearance of the question as one of practical value in our politics. Yet in the whole of these discussions, both political and historical, no mention has been made of Jefferson's first or rough draft of the Kentucky Resolutions, though it throws important light on the completed fair copy so frequently quoted, and also on the resolutions as adopted by the Kentucky Legislature. There is a story to the effect that a minister troubled his deacons by unguarded speeches, and was accordingly waited on by them, with the request that he would be more careful. "Oh, brethren," he replied, "if you only knew what I didn't say!" What Jefferson said in his first draft and omitted in his second seems to me important if not essential.

In the first clause, after the claim—

"That to this compact each state acceded as a state, and is an integral party, its co-states forming, as to itself, the other party"—

Jefferson wrote the following clause, which he struck out in the rough draft:

"That the constitutional form of action for this commonwealth as a party with respect to any other party is by it's organized powers & not by it's citizens in a body."

Equally illustrating Jefferson's temporary want of faith in the people was an alteration in the eighth section; and how far his cooler judgment toned down the threat is most interesting in the comparison:

[erased clause.]

"But that however confident at other times this commonwealth would have been in the deliberate judgment of the co-states and that but one opinion would be entertained on the unjustifiable character of the acts herein specified, yet it cannot be insensible that circumstances do exist, & that passions are at this time afloat which may give a bias to the judgment to be pronounced on this subject, that times of passion are peculiarly those when precedents of wrong are yielded to with the least caution, when encroachments of powers are most usually made & principles are least watched. That whether the coincidence of the occasion & the encroachment in the present case has been from accident or design, the right of the commonwealth to the government of itself in cases not [*illegible*] parted with, is too vitally important to be yielded from temporary or secondary considerations: that a fixed determination therefore to retain it, requires us in candor and without reserve to declare & to warn our co-states that considering the said acts to be so palpably against the constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration that that compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it is to proceed in the exercise over these states of any & all powers whatever, considering this as seizing the rights of the states & consolidating them in the hands of the general government, with power to bind the states (not merely in the cases made federal [*casus federis*] but) in all cases whatsoever by laws not made with their consent, but by other states against their consent; considering all the consequences as nothing in comparison with that of yielding the form of government we have chosen & of living under one [*struck out*] deriving it's powers from it's own will and not from our authority, this commonwealth, as an integral party, does in that case protest against such opinions and exercises of undelegated & unauthorized power, and does declare that recurring to it's natural right of judging & acting for itself, it will be constrained to take care of itself, & to provide by measures of it's own that no power not plainly & intentionally delegated by the constitution to the general government, shall be exercised within the territory of this commonwealth."

[substitute clause.]

"But that they [the co states] will concur with this comm. in considering the said acts so palpably against the const. as to amount to an undisguised declatn. that that compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the genl. govmt., but that it will proceed in the exercise over these states of all powers whatsoever, that they will view this as seizing the rights of the states & consolidating them in the hands of the genl govt. with power assumed to bind the states (not merely in the cases made federal) but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made not with their consent but by others against their consent, that this would be to surrender the form of govmt. we have chosen & to live under one deriving it's powers from it's own will and not from our authority, and that the co-states recurring to their natural right in cases not made federal will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force, & will each take measures of it's own providing that neither these acts nor any others of the government not plainly and intentionally authorized by the country to the genl. govmt. shall be exercised within their respective territories."

These are the only material differences between the rough draft and the fair copy; but while on this subject, I wish to call attention to one hitherto unnoted fact. In the two Jefferson drafts the words "nullification" and "nullify" each occur once, close together, being the earliest-known use of the words in the political sense in which they were afterwards employed. The resolutions as voted by the Kentucky Legislature omitted these words, and only by the use of the word "nullification" in the supplementary resolutions of 1799 did that word pass into political literature. Many historians (Henry Adams, 'History of U. S.' i., 205; Schouler, i., 424; McMaster, ii., 422; and Hildreth, v., 275) state that this was a tempering of Jefferson's extreme plan of action by the more moderate legislative body, and Von Holst (i., 149) goes even further, stating:

"That Jefferson was not only an advocate, but the father, of the doctrine of nullification, is thus well established. It may be that Nicholas secured his assent to the striking out of these sentences, but no fact has as yet been discovered in support of this assumption. Still less is there any positive ground for the allegation that Jefferson had begun to doubt the position he had assumed. Various passages in his later letters point decidedly to the very opposite conclusion."

How far the "fair copy" on which these various writers based their statements was fair evidence always seemed to me questionable, since the mere existence of the paper in the Jefferson manuscripts was proof positive that it was not the copy given by Jefferson to Nicholas. Fortunately I have discovered a brief note from Jefferson to Nicholas, written after the resolutions had been put into his hands, to the following effect:

"The more I have reflected on the phrase in the paper you shewed me, the more strongly I think it should be altered. Suppose you were instead of the invitation to cooperate in the annulment of the acts, to make it an invitation 'to concur with this commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the said acts are, and were ab initio, null, void and of no force, or effect.' I should like it better. Health, happiness, and Adieu."

As the word "annulment" occurs nowhere in the Jefferson drafts, it is obvious that the striking out of the word "nullification" was done at Jefferson's request, and from the manner in which Nicholas utilized the suggested change, the inference is strong that the copy of the resolutions he had received from their author was radically different from the fair copy which has been so often quoted as representing Jefferson's final opinion.

Paul Leicester Ford.

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THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The notice of the last livraison of Pauly's 'Real-Encyklopädie' in a recent number of the *Nation* assigns its editor-in-chief, Prof. Georg Wissowa, to the University of Marburg. It may be of interest to some of your readers to know that this eminent scholar and interesting lecturer has succeeded the late Prof. Keil at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, entering upon his duties last October. His accession to the faculty of Halle makes its corps of classical instructors again one of the strongest in Germany. The transfer of Prof. Blass from Kiel, a few years ago, and this latest appointment shows that it is the intention of the Prussian Ministry of Instruction to maintain at Halle the noble traditions that have made it one of the most notable centres of classical scholarship in Germany. Blass, Dittenberger, and Wissowa in classical philology, Robert in archæology, Pischel in Sanskrit, and Eduard Meyer in ancient history, not to speak of the able younger men, are names that are sure to allure an increasing number of American students, especially those who wish to avoid the crowds of Americans, too often on pleasure rather than on study bent, who throng the lecture-halls and the *pensions* of the larger cities. Edward Capps.

Chicago, February 10, 1896.

THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Permit me to question a statement in the sketch of Dr. Furness in your issue of February 6, in which his church in Philadelphia, dating from 1796, is spoken of as "the first organized as such [Unitarian] in the United States." In the Unitarian church at Northumberland, Pa., of which I was for four years the pastor, there is a mural tablet to Dr. Priestley which states that the church was founded by him in 1794. The only point in question, for the settlement of which I believe no documents are extant, is whether it was organized "*as a Unitarian Church*." But when we remember that Priestley had already adopted the name, and that he was refused recognition by the other clergymen of Northumberland and the neighborhood, there would seem to be little room for doubt that the church he founded there in 1794 was a Unitarian church in name as well as in fact.

Respectfully yours, H. D. C.

Eastport, Me.

[Our correspondent's inference seems to be valid. It is certainly an interesting fact that, whether in Northumberland or in Philadelphia, the first Unitarian church organized as such in America was organized by Dr. Priestley, the leading English Unitarian of the eighteenth century.—Ed. Nation.]

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL IN ROME.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Permit me, through your columns, to correct an error that may otherwise lead to misapprehensions touching the resources of the new American School in Rome. In my just-printed annual report, for the sake of expressing my appreciation of the School and of commending it to the public-spirited as deserving the most liberal pecuniary support, I referred to its organization and projected work. In reproducing, however, certain statements from a document issued by the Archæological Institute of America, I inadvertently credited the Institute with two or three appropriations to the School in Rome when they had really been made to the School in Athens. I find no excuse for the oversight except that of inevitable haste at the time I wrote, and the fact that the school last named in the original document before the statements quoted was "the newly founded American School of Classical Studies in Rome." While I much regret the slip, it is with some sense of relief that I remember that this correction is likely to reach many hundreds more than the error, and that to all of these it will carry one more endorsement and commendation of a most worthy enterprise projected for the improvement of American scholarship.—Yours respectfully,

William F. Warren.

Boston University, February 12, 1896.

"HIRED MAN."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Little as the fact of rendering service is thought to be derogatory, we often find it needful, in order that our fellow-sovereigns may live in perfect charity with us, to be particular how we style a person by whom service is rendered. Americans at large acquiescing, the *servant-man*, accompanied by his old-fashioned *master*, if he has not indeed gone the way of the dodo and the dinotherium, has, at least, retired on indefinite leave of absence, his substitute in office being the *hired man*.

Of this expression, a strange seeming one, its meaning considered, what is the history? Ordinarily, I believe, it is regarded as a euphemism; and such it now is, unquestionably. It appears, however, to have been, with us, originally, something quite different. Our cis-atlantic forefathers, even in the days when they were British subjects, had their *hired men*; and the following passage, extracted from a dissertation written in Pennsylvania in 1751, shows who were formerly thus designated:

"Why, then, will America purchase slaves? Because slaves may be kept as long as a man pleases, or has occasion for their labour; while *hired men* are continually leaving their master (often in the midst of his business) and setting up for themselves."

Male slaves being *unhired men*, the term *hired men*, if we bear in mind the circumstances under which it was employed, was strictly appropriate as distinguishing labourers or domestics who were not slaves. *Servant-men*, in its stead, since the appellation would have comprehended *bondmen*, would have failed in preciseness of description.

Was it the custom, prior to the War of Independence, to speak of *hired women*, *hired boys*, and *hired maids* or *girls*, as well as of *hired men*? Presumably it was. The point could be ascertained by turning over old records.

Our colonial grandsires of course stressed the first syllable in *hired man*, while we make the phrase, in its altered acceptation, a spondee. And in so doing we observe analogy. Witness, for instance, *black-sheep*, 'reprobate,' like which we should, moreover, supplying a hyphen, write *hired-man*.

The quotation given above is taken from the volume of the *Annual Register* for 1760.

F. H.

Marlesford, England, February 5, 1896.

HEINE'S SOLITUDE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your mention, among the autograph letters in the British Museum, of Washington's letter to the Earl of Buchan—it is in the first case to the left, as you enter from the Grenville Library—reminds me of another letter in the same collection written by Heine from Boulogne, under date of July 15, 1834; it is characteristic: "Depuis 10 jours je suis ici, jouissant d'une parfaite solitude, car je suis entourré de la mer, de bois, et d'Anglais, qui sont aussi muet que le bois—je ne veux pas dire aussi *hölzern*"—Yours very truly,

Robert H. Marr.

New Orleans, February 11, 1896.

Notes.

White's 'Natural History of Selborne' is to be edited, with an introduction and notes, by Prof. Edward S. Morse, for Ginn & Co.'s "Classics for Children" series.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, have nearly ready a translation, by Will S. Monroe, of Comenius's 'School of Infancy,' with portrait, introduction, notes, and bibliography.

Macmillan & Co. announce 'Art and Humanity in Homer,' by Prof. Wm. Cranston Lawton; a translation, by Dr. Alexander Bruce, of Thoma's 'Text-book of General Pathology and Pathological Anatomy'; and a collection of the traditional hymns of the Ancient Gaelic Church in Scotland, by Alexander Carmichael.

Henry Holt & Co. announce for speedy issue 'On Parody,' an essay on the art, with humorous selections from its masters, beginning with the Greeks and Romans, by Arthur Shadwell Martin.

Roberts Bros. have ready for immediate issue No. 3 of Prof. Todd's "Columbian Knowledge Series," entitled 'A Hand-book of Arctic Discoveries,' by Gen. A. W. Greely, U. S. Army, a compact volume, exhibiting such accomplished results as may answer the inquiries of the busy man who often wishes to know what, when, and where rather than how. Maps and bibliographies have not been neglected.

The first century of the French Institute is to be commemorated by Count de Franqueville, a member of that body, in two quarto volumes of elegant manufacture, 'Le Premier Siècle de l'Institut de France: 25 Octobre 1795–1895' (Paris: J. Rothschild; New York: Lemcke & Büchner). The history and biography of the Institute and its titulary members form one division; in the second a like service is performed for the "membres libres," the foreign and non-resident associates, correspondents, etc., and it will contain lists of foundations, prizes, and the like. Rubricated initials and an abundance of photographic illustrations in the text adorn and elucidate the narrative.

The panorama of the year is unrolled as usual in the bound volume of *Harper's Weekly* for 1895. The war between China and Japan determines the illustrations at the beginning; the menace of war on account of Venezuela, at the end. Between these events comes the unlucky death of Secretary Gresham, whose portrait is succeeded by that of Secretary Olney, President Cleveland's *âme damnée* so far as we can now judge. This change of officers is certainly the most momentous event recorded in the *Weekly*, beside which the reversal of the income-tax decision counts for the merest trifle. There is a page of portraits of new

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United States Senators, a choice assortment. For the rest, we pass in review the Lexow Committee, the Brooklyn strike, the grand combination Astor-Lenox-Tilden library of New York, the Boston Public and the Congressional Libraries with their respective decorations, the city shows, the yacht races, the Atlanta Exposition. Mr. Weyman's 'Red Cockade' is the chief serial, but the illustrations to Mr. Bangs's 'House-boat on the Styx' can be studied only here at their original scale and with full enjoyment of Mr. Newell's cleverness.

The twenty-eighth volume of *Harper's Bazar* furnishes data enough, with its bewildering array of feminine costumes, for the expert in such things to calculate the curve which sleeves and skirts are now following. From such mysteries we refrain, to note only the less technical contents: serial fiction provided by Maarten Maartens, Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis, and Mr. Howells; notes on contemporary music; reproductions of contemporary art, with an occasional harking back to Gainsborough or Sir Joshua for types of female loveliness; "T. W. H.'s" column, "Women and Men," running through the year and covering things literary and moral in Mr. Higginson's well known style.

Mr. William Woodville Rockhill, the newly appointed First Assistant Secretary of State and one of the most distinguished of living Asiatic travellers, has given us an account of his second journey to Thibet, in the form of a 'Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet,' published by the Smithsonian Institution. The bulky volume will be of much value and interest to specialists, as the author, who speaks both Chinese and Thibetan, had great advantages over any rivals in the same region, and knew how to make the most of them. The public, however, will find the mass of uncouth names and minute geographical information rather formidable, and be more inclined to admire than to read. Although Mr. Rockhill did not succeed in following out his original plan of pushing through to India, but, like so many others, was forced to turn back, he went over much new ground, and has added materially to our knowledge of one of the least explored countries in the world.

'The Fifth Army Corps,' by Lieut.-Col. W. H. Powell, 11th U. S. Infantry (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is a book sure to be very attractive to the veterans of the civil war who were members of that corps organization in the Army of the Potomac. For the general reader, who naturally thinks that in a stout octavo he should find a complete history of the campaigns mentioned, it has the defect of being limited to the standpoint of a minor fraction of the army in Virginia. A more serious fault is that the author, in his laudation of McClellan as a commander, pays no attention to the definite criticisms of that general's campaigns which are based on the fuller knowledge gained since 1862, and especially upon the established fact that his army was greatly superior in numbers and equipment to the Confederates. He also shows a confusion of ideas with regard to the relations of the President, the Cabinet, and Congress to the army which is simply astonishing.

The importance of the aid of photography in modern science-teaching is admirably illustrated in 'An Atlas of the Fertilization and Karyokinesis of the Ovum,' by Edmund B. Wilson, Ph.D., with the coöperation of Edward Leaming, M.D. (New York: For the Columbia University Press by Macmillan & Co.). Subjects beyond the reach of any but the most expert microscopists and the best of apparatus are shown as they appeared in the most perfect results of long continued observations and in the most successful of many attempts at representation. The atlas exhibits forty stages, in maturation, fertilization, and cleavage, to the Blastula of sixteen cells, photographed directly from sections of minute eggs. The figures set forth the phenomena exactly as seen by original investigators, and are sufficiently numerous to trace the courses of reasoning by which accepted conclusions have been attained. The many diagrammatic figures corresponding to the phototypes reduce necessary textual explanations to the smallest compass. The technical terms are clearly defined. In the second part—that is, the Atlas proper—the natural order has been followed, but in the general introduction the sequence is fertilization, cleavage, maturation, and "fertilization, the cycle completed." This arrangement presents no difficulty for an embryologist, but in the case of a student beginning the study it leads to confusion which has no compensating excuse for its existence. It is a slight blemish in a work which in general is well adapted to the purpose for which it was constructed. The Atlas is worthy of a good reception.

To persons desiring a moderately comprehensive knowledge of animal life below the vertebrates, to teachers of high or grammar schools, or of such courses in zoölogy as do not include exhaustive special investigations, and to students under such instructors, Arthur E. Shipley's 'Zoölogy of the Invertebrata' (London: Black; New York: Macmillan) has much to recommend it. The material has been carefully selected, the arrangement is good, the text is clear and concise, and the abundant illustrations are of excellent quality. The author has laid particular stress on morphology, rather than on histology, embryology, or natural history. He has chosen an example of each of the larger groups, one typifying the whole group, for dissection, illustration, and discussion, and also has given special prominence to intermediate forms which by their affinities are placed between the larger groups. Absence of bibliographical references, commonly so numerous, and of the multitudinous footnotes ordinarily complicating the text and perplexing the inexperienced student, renders the matter more easy to grasp, and really makes the pages more attractive for the classes it is intended to reach. A work better suited to the needs of those for whom it was prepared is not easily found.

We are in the midst of an active period of production of German dictionaries. The fourth edition of Flügel's 'Universal English-German and German-English Dictionary' is only four years old, but already we have a namesake rival, Flügel-Schmidt-Tanger's 'Dictionary of the English and German Language for Home and School,' "with special reference" to the foregoing (Brunswick: George Westermann; New York: Lemcke & Büchner). The superficial differences are Flügel's three volumes as against the triumvirate's two, and fine and open type respectively. In this latter particular the newcomer should be decidedly welcomed. The gain in space lies in the English-German portion, and as this will be much less used than the German-English by an English-speaking buyer, he will be apt to prefer the triumvirate's one volume to Flügel's two. It is but fair to add, however, that the literary features of Flügel's English-German section, as shown in the illustrative quotations from a wide range of English sources, are wholly wanting in the newer work. Between the German-English portions it is hard to choose, and we can only counsel the procuring of both if one's means permit. Neither deals at all in etymologies.

Whatever be here the choice, the more scholarly and philological dictionary-seeker will, on examination, decidedly wish to own also the new 'Deutsches Wörterbuch' of Prof. Hermann Paul, of which the first instalment (A—Gebühr) is to hand (Halle: Max Niemeyer; New York: Lemcke & Büchner). Its plan is sufficiently novel. It does not aim to furnish an exhaustive vocabulary or a complete series of definitions. It deals with the speech of the present day, and with the older only by way of comparison, to show the significant departures from classic usage in the eighteenth century and from the Biblical. Hence the references are principally to Goethe, Klopstock, Lessing, Luther, Pestalozzi, and Wieland. Take the word *billig* for an example of the author's treatment. He notes its MHG form of *billîch*, and the prolongation of the ending *ch* into the seventeenth century; its root *bil-*; its synonymy with *recht*, but with an aspect not towards statutes but towards natural perception of right; its sense of 'cheap' ('not dearer than it should be'), originating in the last century. In this brief exposition there is a single (proverbial) illustration. *Ein* is discussed in two pages. The work will be complete in October. It is, as German books go, clearly printed in a handsome Gothic letter, but it would have been an immense condescension to a foreigner if the phrases and examples had been picked out (as in Heyne) in Roman characters. It will, however, find a ready welcome as it is.

Velhagen & Klassig, well known for their excellent series of popular illustrated books, have undertaken one of artists' monographs, the purpose of which is to give in popular form a scholarly history of classic and modern art. The series is under the direction of Prof. H. Knackfuss, author of the excellent 'Deutsche Kunstgeschichte' published by the same firm, and he has written many of the monographs himself. Thus far the series contains volumes on Raphael, Rubens, Rembrandt, Michelangelo, Dürer, Velasquez, Menzel, Teniers, A. v. Werner, Knaus, Murillo. They are all printed on good paper, handsomely bound, and, although arranged in a series, each volume is complete in itself. The price ranges from two to three marks, but a *Prachtausgabe*, limited to 100 copies and numbered, has been provided at twenty marks per volume. The volumes on Menzel, by Knackfuss, and on Werner, by Adolf Rosenberg, lie before us, and are indeed very attractive. They contain about 130 pages each, and the former has 141 reproductions from paintings and drawings, while the latter is ornamented with 125. Those from paintings cannot fail to be pleasing to every eye; those from drawings and from studies have a special value for artists.

Signor Angelo Lupatelli's 'Storia della Pittura in Perugia' (Foligno: F. Campitelli) will be of service to such students as have no access to libraries stocked with the numberless publications, old and new, on Italian art. Signor Lupatelli has compiled from good sources, and with a certain intelligence; but neither in his bibliography nor in his text do we find mention of Morelli's writings, so epoch-making in the study of Umbrian art. 'Le Petit Guide de Pérouse,' by the same author, can be safely recommended.

The *Observer* (Portland, Conn.: Bigelow) has been enlarged, and bids fair to be a very popular as well as valuable magazine for outdoor

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recreation and education. The department of birds is under the care of Mr. John H. Sage, and will have series of articles by Florence A. Merriam and Olive Thorne Miller. The department of microscopy will be conducted by Miss M. A. Booth; that of astronomy by Miss Mary Proctor, daughter of the lately deceased astronomer; and that of botany by Miss C. A. Shepard. There will also be series of articles by Dr. Henry C. McCook, Anna Botsford Comstock, Elizabeth G. Britton, and Dr. Alfred C. Stokes. These are all experienced writers, and confidence may be felt in both their science and their English. It is to be hoped that it is not the editorial hand that is responsible for the announcement that practical microscopy "will take a high stand, worth more than double the price of the *Observer*."

An illustrated account of a recent visit to the Faroes opens an unusually interesting number of the *Geographical Journal* for January. This is followed by Capt. Vaughan's narrative of his journeys in central Persia, and a discussion by Col. Holdich of the origin of the Kafir of the Hindu-Kush. This interesting race, whose independence is now threatened by Afghanistan, claims to be of Greek descent, and their appearance is of a distinct Aryan type, with low forehead, prominent aquiline features, and a relatively fair complexion. While the most natural hypothesis is that they are the "modern representatives of a very mixed race, chiefly of Tajak origin," yet some curious facts are given which seem to show their connection with the legendary subjugation of India by Dionysus mentioned by Arrian. Some yet undeciphered inscriptions found in their valley "recall a Greek alphabet of archaic type," and a hymn to their war-god, of which a translation is given, is a Bacchic hymn, wanting only the "accessories of vine-leaves and ivy to make it entirely classical." A very creditable piece of exploration in the Canadian Rockies by a party of Yale students is described by one of their number, Mr. W. D. Wilcox. It is accompanied by two contour maps and some reproductions of photographs of Lake Louise and the neighboring mountains. A useful sketch map of British Guiana is given, so shaded as to show at a glance the territory not in dispute and the extreme claims of both Venezuela and Great Britain. The *Journal* for April, 1895, we will remind our readers, contains an admirably clear map of the whole region, indicating plainly the Schomburgk line, the gold districts, the various stations, settlements, and trails.

Among the articles of general interest in the *Annales de Géographie* for January is an account of the trade of Tripoli with the Sudan. There are three principal routes across the desert, and the caravans, starting generally in the autumn, carry out cloths, hardware, glass, arms, ammunition, sugar, and essences. They bring back gold, from Bornu and Damergu, ostrich feathers, skins, ivory, gum, wax, and civet. The caravan-men are either part owners of the goods, or more frequently are hired by the merchants, receiving in payment a part of the proceeds. The attempts of the French and English to divert this trade to Algeria and the Niger have so far proved unsuccessful. Following this is a study of the little-known region to the west of the Nile affected by the Franco-Congo treaty of 1894, and a summing up of the results of the war between China and Japan. The writer believes that the harder terms of the first treaty of peace would have been in the end better for China, which has apparently sunk again into the lethargy that must end in the fall of the empire.

Since we noticed the forcible and not too amiable onslaught of M. Espinas on Rousseau's social "system" in the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement* of October 15 and November 15, 1895, we ought sooner to have called at least equal attention to the editorial reply of M. Éd. Dreyfus-Brisac in the number for December 15. It is a warm defence of Rousseau's veracity as well as of his consistency, and is fairly conclusive on the main point at which M. Espinas is controverted, namely, the divergences between the rough draft of the 'Contrat Social' and its definitive form in print. Indeed, M. Espinas is exposed to the charge of very careless if not grossly unfair comparison and use of these documents, and is roundly scored by M. Dreyfus-Brisac. The discussion over the "system" is perhaps not ended, but the question has, in our opinion, very little interest for the present generation. It were much to be wished that what is admirable, charming, and salutary in Rousseau's writings might be enjoyed without reference to his philosophy or his reputation.

M. Anatole France's recent address before the Association Générale des Étudiants deserves mention as being graced with one of the most beautiful tributes to Science that ever came from the lips of a man of letters. Some of the sentences are apothegms: "Elle soutient notre curiosité; nous devons l'en aimer. Elle ne l'épuise pas; nous devons l'en aimer encore." "Elle fait leur [men's] vie moins brève, plus sûre, plus abondante et plus variée. *Elle les abrite pour penser.*" Such homage, coming from the opposite camp, is beneficial at a time when so many minds the civilized world over are kept at a tension in adjusting the rival claims of the sciences and the letters.

Hitherto only the leisurely traveller through Italy has been acquainted with one of the most lovable creations of Italian genius, Moretto's Virgin, the most motherly of Madonnas, in the mountain shrine of Paitone, near Brescia. But recently this masterpiece has been photographed by Alinari Bros., who at the same time made reproductions of all Moretto's pictures at Brescia. This town, so rich in works by this master of delicate feeling and exquisite tone, is rich also in works by his splendid rival Romanino, and in the gallery are a number of fine canvases by the best known member of this school, the great portrait-painter Moroni. Among the other paintings at Brescia photographed by Alinari is the "Annunciation" by the rare and precious Jacopo Bellini, fascinating "Nativities" by Lotto and Savoldo, a "Salvator Mundi" by the young Raphael, and a fine head by his Urbinate master Timoteo Viti.

The students of the Slade School of Art, Oxford, England, are shortly to issue a new quarterly, the *Quarto*. By permission of Mr. Leopold de Rothschild, a photogravure reproduction of "A Holy Family," by Andrea del Sarto, will serve as frontispiece to the first number. A tempting feature of this new art magazine is to be a "collector's edition" of twenty copies, on Japanese paper and bound in vellum. With each of these copies there will be distributed, in addition to an original etching by Mr. Wm. Strang, "a small original autograph sketch, . . . no two alike," by one of the contributors. Among these appear the names of the late Lord Leighton, Mr. Geo. Fred. Watts, and Mr. Joseph Pennell.

It was not to be expected that the late Dr. William H. Furness of Philadelphia would fail to have a place in Mr. F. Gutekunst's photographic gallery of celebrities. The "imperial panel," in fact, of this eminent preacher is among the most successful of the long array, and has the merit of being nearly if not quite "untouched." Thus all the fine lines of the skin combine with the usual marks, not only of age but of geniality and benevolence, to produce a speaking likeness which will be cherished by a large circle of Dr. Furness's friends and admirers.

—'American Book-Prices Current,' compiled from auctioneers' catalogues by Luther S. Livingston, and published by Dodd, Mead & Co., wisely adopts the form and style of the British 'Book-Prices Current,' of which the ninth volume is before us (London: Elliot Stock & Co.). In both these indispensable works the arrangement is by sales, preceded by a tabular list; the entries are progressively numbered (6,025 in the American, 6,748—a falling off—in the British); an index groups the scattered authors or anonymous works; and a preface reviews the features of the year's sales as to rarity, prices, etc. There is much food here for study and international comparison, the principle of inclusion (a pound value as a customary minimum) being about the same in both cases. We have roughly computed the number of separate entries in some two dozen instances, showing the respective American and British transactions in Almanacs, 10, 2, Bibles (printed), 78, 61; Boccaccio, 6, 10; Cervantes, 13, 16; Dibdin, 23, 6; Balzac, 8, 1. American interest in Borrow surpasses British, 5, 2; as in Browning, 30, 10, Dickens, 49, 34, Tennyson, 38, 23, Thackeray, 36, 21, and Walton, 31, 17. Even Cruikshank stands 32, 39, but Bewick only 5, 23. Bacon items are American 3, British 11. Matthew Arnold is tied, 4, 4. With American authors the disparity is great indeed: Audubon, 7, 1; Emerson, 31, 1; Hawthorne, 39, 1; Holmes, 26, 1; Longfellow (and this is singular), 49, 2 only; Lowell, 24, 0; and Whittier, 46, 1. But the rage for first editions has been catered to by Mr. Livingston in admitting sales below the five-dollar mark. It will be seen that with our American collectors the order of favoritism is Longfellow, Whittier, Hawthorne, Emerson, Holmes, Lowell. We should notice that the 'American Book-Prices Current' is handsomely printed from type in a limited edition of 400 copies, which must surely appreciate.

—At the suggestion of Dr. S. A. Green, and as an addendum to his 'List of Early American Imprints belonging to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society' recently noticed by us, Nathaniel Paine has prepared 'A List of Early American Imprints, 1640-1700, belonging to the Library of the American Antiquarian Society,' and printed two hundred copies. The books falling within the scope of this bibliography number three hundred, of which one-half, approximately, were already catalogued in the three hundred titles printed in Dr. Green's list, and are therefore not repeated here, only a mere reference to the fuller title being given. We thus have in the two works a list of four hundred and fifty separate issues of the early American presses, and, as not more than twenty-five were printed outside of Cambridge and Boston, a long step has been made towards a complete list of Massachusetts incunabula. Mr. Paine, indeed, goes so far as to say that "the two lists probably contain the titles of nearly all the known publications, now extant, issued from the press in British North America from 1640 to 1700 inclusive." In this we can hardly agree, for Haven's very imperfect list gives 607 titles for this period, and while copies of a

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few of these are unknown, they are balanced five times over by the new discoveries of Mr. Hildeburn in Pennsylvania and New York imprints. Indeed, the Prince and Lewis collections of the Boston Public Library alone give nearly 100 additional titles, and the Lenox Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania could also supply many additions. Probably there are actually extant, at the present writing, about 1,000 issues of the Massachusetts press before 1701, and these are not more than two thirds of the actual issues. These facts, however, do not lessen the value of the present work. As in Dr. Green's list, the larger part of the titles fall among almanacs, laws, and the typical New England theologico-political tracts, the most interesting being a copy of 'Gospel Ordinance Revived' (which played so curious a part in the attempt carried on by the Mathers to restrict the freedom of the press), with several of the broadside "Advertisements" and "Depositions" relating to the contest bound in; a copy of Cotton Mather's curious 'Rules for the Society of Negroes,' 1693, which ranks second in date of our slave literature; and a copy of the Bay Psalm Book, the earliest book of the Massachusetts press. The work has been carefully done, and is a most acceptable addition to the subject.

—When the ravages of the "downy mildew" were checked for the first time in American vineyards by means of the "Bordeaux mixture," spraying was hailed by orchardists and planters as a deliverer and a panacea. After wasting much hard work in spraying the right bugs at the wrong time, the farmers have thrown down the nozzle to learn from scientists and college men something about bugs and the fungous diseases of plants. Economic Entomology has come into existence to cope with the annual destroyers of one-tenth of all our agricultural products. "Watch and spray" is now the facetious war-cry of farmers and fruit-growers. The practical advice offered by the experiment stations to farmers is scattered in the deciduous literature of bulletins and newspapers. All this material has been sifted by a competent specialist in combination with his own experiments, and the result is a book of 400 pages of practical things arranged in the helpful form of a pocket dictionary, 'The Spraying of Plants,' by E. G. Lodeman, Instructor in Horticulture in Cornell University (Macmillan). It tells what to spray, when, and why. It can be consulted under vines and fig-trees, and offending objects can be compared with pictures. Nor are prescriptions lacking, together with seductive cuts of wonderful nozzles, pumps, and spraying paraphernalia. The familiar old cut of the codlin moth that has for half a century been an object of odious interest, at last gives way to a new engraving that is positively artistic by comparison, and of greater scientific accuracy. The early history of spraying is detailed in the painstaking manner of the investigator and contributor to science. These 238 pages of history and principles may be useful to those farmers only who are troubled with insomnia (if there be any such), and in future editions this matter could, as far as the farmer is concerned, be compressed into 200 less pages; but of the value of the specific directions for spraying cultivated plants there can be no doubt. It is a remarkable adaptation of science. There is nothing else on the subject so new, complete, accurate, and available.

—In 1870, at the age of thirty-five, Mr. Alfred Austin published a book entitled 'The Poetry of the Period,' consisting of eight articles which had previously appeared in the *Temple Bar* magazine. The first of them is concerned with Mr. Austin's immediate predecessor in the office of Poet Laureate of England. Mr. Austin sets out with the announcement that he intends to expound, with a confidence not the growth of yesterday, but of long, deliberate, and ever-deepening conviction, the opinion that Tennyson has no sound pretensions to be called a great poet, and will of a certainty not be esteemed such by an unbiassed posterity. He thinks it is high time that somebody should speak out; the conventional sense of the majority so overpowers the critical sense of the discriminating minority that, as a rule, no one ever expends his energy in the attempt to reverse an opinion which has once got itself accepted by a preponderance of voices. So has it been with Tennyson. His fame has steadily increased precisely as his genuine poetical power has steadily waned. Mr. Austin's proposition is, that Tennyson is not a great poet, unquestionably not a poet of the first rank, all but unquestionably not a poet of the second rank, and probably—though no contemporary perhaps can settle that—not even at the head of poets of the third rank, among whom he must ultimately take his place. Posterity will not hear him, save in little snatches or breaks of voice, as it still hears Cowley or Falconer. It will not allow the "Talking Oak" or "Locksley Hall" to die, but "In Memoriam" will assuredly be handed over to the dust. In the whole range of his poetry there is not to be found even a solitary instance of a sublime thought sublimely expressed. He is the poet crossed by the man of scientific thought and intelligence, and producing a species of metrical emulsion. Browning does not find more favor in Mr. Austin's eyes than Tennyson. The assertion that Browning is our great modern seer is the most astounding and ludicrous pretension ever put forward in literature. A passage from "Sordello" is pronounced to be not only not poetry, but detestable gibberish even as prose. Browning is the real *M. Jourdain*, who has been writing prose all his life without knowing it He has no voice, and yet he wants to sing; he is not a poet, and yet he would fain write poetry. These choice specimens of Mr. Austin's critical acumen must suffice for the present purpose, but his whole volume may be profitably studied by the brood of youngsters who are deluging us with a shower of little four-by-six magazines in which every precious contribution of a hundred words is signed with its author's name. Mr. Austin, they will find, is just as "smart," and epigrammatic, and "fearless," and self-confident as they are.

—Were we to watch the labor of Sisyphus, we should probably be much interested the first time we saw him roll the stone up the slope, and grieve with him as it dashed down just before reaching the top. We should admire the perseverance with which he ran after it, and again puffed and tugged and pushed to wards the goal. But, after watching several of these failures, we should conclude either that Sisyphus had undertaken the impossible, or that he lacked the necessary strength and skill. A similar conclusion forces itself upon us as we review, year after year, the efforts of one scholar after another to translate the 'Divine Comedy' into English verse, and we believe that in this case failure must be charged to the task itself, and not to the incompetence of those who undertake it. The latest of these, Mr. George Musgrave, has produced a version of the "Inferno" in Spenserian metre (Macmillan) which deserves the commendation due to good but futile intentions—and no more. Mr. Musgrave declares that the nine-line stanza of the 'Faërie Queene' is the nearest equivalent to Dante's *terza rima;* a little while ago Mr. Lancelot Shadwell assured us that the metre of Marvell's great Horatian ode would alone serve; and before him how many others have taken different roads to failure! Dante's verse, we need hardly say, flows like a mighty unhindered river; to imagine that any stanzaic divisions can represent it, is like imagining that a canal, cut up into sections by regularly recurring locks, can represent the freedom, the sweep and variety and life of the river. Inevitably, therefore, before we have read a dozen of Mr. Musgrave's stanzas, we are obliged to admit that they do not reproduce, even faintly, the metrical effect made by Dante, and further testing merely confirms the suspicion that this version, so far as its form goes, has no justification as a possible equivalent of the 'Divine Comedy.' But perhaps, we think, Mr. Musgrave may have made a good English poem, whatever may be its inferiority to the Italian. We read again, with this in view, and again are disappointed. The "linked sweetness, long drawn out" of this stanza as used by Spenser nowhere appears; nor is there aught to suggest that Byron, Shelley, and Keats could, each in a different way, get many fine qualities out of it. To Mr. Musgrave's touch it is an instrument which is neither sweet, nor sonorous, nor fluent, nor emphatic. So we are driven to consider the translation simply as a *tour de force*, and from this standpoint it has its interest. That any one should be able, in a given number of syllables, to give the English equivalents of a given number of Italian words, is, however inadequate the general result may be, a scholarly pastime which may amuse the looker-on. But after a while the elisions and inversions of syntax, the strange words, and the unlimited license in rhymes tire us. What pleasure can any one get from such rhymes as "Italy," "lie," "I," and "wistfully"? What profit from having *conosciuto* translated "agnised," because Mr. Musgrave could not make "recognized" fit his metre? Doubtless, he had satisfaction in wrestling with difficulties which are indeed insuperable; but the best that can be said of his achievement is that we wonder that he has done as well as he has, and this is very far from saying that he has produced a work worth reading as a specimen of English poetry, or worth studying as means to a better knowledge of Dante.

—The second and concluding volume of Dr. Karl Heinemann's 'Goethe' (Leipzig: Seemann) begins with the publication of the first collective edition of the poet's works in 1787-'90, and ends with his death, March 26, 1832, thus comprising the best forty-five years of his life. His sojourn in Italy from 1786 to 1788 had released him from the petty and prosy routine of official duties at Weimar, and, through the study of the antique, had perfected his taste by purging his mind from the last dregs of the storm-and-stress period and the morbid sentimentality of Wertherism, which could be only a passing episode in the development of a nature so robust. Dr. Heinemann gives an excellent appreciation of these influences as traceable in Goethe's writings, followed by a chapter entitled "House and Hearth," in which his relations to Christiane Vulpius are explained and extenuated, but by no means approved. At that time concubinacy was neither foreign nor offensive to the "best society" in Weimar and

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elsewhere in Germany. The unwonted clamor and malicious gossip excited by Goethe's similar transgression were due less to the moral sensitiveness than to the wounded vanity of the noble ladies of Weimar, and particularly to the fierce jealousy of Frau von Stein, who even wrote a play called "Dido" for the purpose of venting her wrath upon her former lover, and calumniating the "low creature" by whom she had been supplanted. According to our author, Goethe's reasons for not marrying Christiane at once were a deep-rooted aversion to the "fetters of matrimony," a strong antipathy to the outward forms of the Christian Church, and a "Julianic hatred" of the current teachings and tendencies of the Christian religion. In his own bitter experience he was made to feel the full force of the doctrine of retribution taught in Wilhelm Meister's *Lehrjahre:* "Denn alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden." A valuable contribution to the literary history of the time is the section of 150 pages devoted to Schiller and other friends and contemporaries of Goethe. In the succeeding chapters we have a full account of Goethe's poetic productivity during the danger and distress caused by the French invasion, his rather questionable patriotism in the war of emancipation, and his later scientific researches. Although the reader may not always accept the author's conclusions, he will find in this biography a complete and impartial presentation of facts and citation of sources, upon which to base an independent judgment. It is written in an attractive style that renders it entertaining as well as instructive reading. The present volume contains more than a hundred illustrations and an excellent general index.

PURCELL'S CARDINAL MANNING.

Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster. By Edmund Sheridan Purcell, Member of the Roman Academy of Letters. In two volumes. Macmillan & Co. 1896.

So far was Cardinal Manning from seeking to prevent the writing of his Life by taking that of Mr. Purcell that he chose him as his biographer, and put in his hands a mass of diaries, notes, and correspondence, of portentous bulk, and, moreover, poured himself out very freely in conversation, construing his own acts and those of his contemporaries in a manner satisfactory to himself. But seldom has a biography added to death a terror of such magnitude as Mr. Purcell's book will prove to persons of distinction who are contemplating some biographical extension of their high repute. The wiser of them will at once resolve that they will trust no one, however loyal and friendly he may vaunt himself, to do the difficult work, and go about to do it with their own hands. For Mr. Purcell's book could hardly be more damaging to Cardinal Manning's reputation if it had been written by one of the many who distrusted him or hated him when he was alive and would like to damn his memory. Froude's treatment of Carlyle was eulogistic in comparison with Mr. Purcell's of his distinguished friend. It is true that he says many fine things about him, from first to last, but they make no such impression on the reader as the scores and hundreds of derogatory and minimizing things. So often those glide swiftly into these that we get into the way of expecting something bad whenever there is something good.

The excuses are, perhaps, more damaging than the direct assaults. The writer is not by any means unconscious of the line that he is taking or of the impression he is likely to create. Over and over again he announces his determination to tell the simple truth. Had not Manning approved this method, and the Pope also, instancing the New Testament frankness about Judas Iscariot as an example of it? Manning had not the art of making friends, but he had a few, and his executors have already denounced Mr. Purcell's book and pledged themselves to procure a worthier biography. The attempt, however, is not promising, in view of the fact that Mr. Purcell has been extremely careful to justify his inferences by direct quotations from Manning's journals and letters. At the same time it is true that he has not been content to let these speak for themselves, but has been careful to bring out their significance; and where Manning's recollections were at variance with the facts of his career, the difference is pointed out. Nor can it be denied that he seems to take a certain pleasure in putting Manning in an evil light. His damnatory clauses are innumerable, and while some of them are frank enough, others are insinuated in a manner hard to understand in a biographer discharging a friendly office. For example, we read (vol. i., p. 294): "The judicious and venerable Archdeacon of Chichester had no sympathy with Ward or his book"; and, in a foot-note, that Ward said, "When I hear men called judicious I suspect them, but when they are called judicious and venerable they are scoundrels." Prudence, caution, tact, are the qualities which Mr. Purcell attributes to Manning with an iteration that is wearisome, with others lower in the moral scale.

His own character cannot be admirable if he had any idea at the outset how his biography would turn out and yet accepted the commission to write it from Manning's hands. We are bound to believe that, with all the documents in his possession, he became fascinated by the doubtful elements in Manning's character, and found himself impelled to make them as prominent in his book as he found them in the Cardinal's life. A different explanation suggests itself in the first volume, which deals exclusively with the Anglican period, while the second deals exclusively with the Roman. It is that Mr. Purcell is painting in a dark Anglican background for his picture of Manning's Roman virtues. This seems the more likely when, in 1847, Manning has a long sickness and takes to morbid self-examination, and imagines himself revolting from the secular ambitions which had recently possessed his soul. Moreover, Mr. Purcell writes as if he underwent some serious spiritual change, and we think we know what he is after—one of those contrasts of youthful levity and later saintliness in which the hagiography of the Roman Church so much abounds. But this promise to the eye is broken to our hope as we go on. Manning is much the same person after his recovery as before, and those aspects of his character which are most painful in his Anglican career are emphasized in the Roman Catholic churchman in a much grosser fashion.

Manning did not distinguish himself at Harrow, and hardly more at Oxford, except as a debater at the Union, where his successes stirred in him visions of a seat in Parliament and a political career. Destined for the Church by his father, he was not in the least attracted to it. A few years later, when the Tractarian Movement had begun, it might have been different. He had to do something for a living, his father's fortune having been suddenly wrecked, and he went into the Colonial Office. As compared with his irksome duties there, the Church soon came to look inviting, the more naturally because the melancholy of a lover's disappointment persuaded him that he was getting more religious. Mr. Purcell's first difference with him is in regard to the relative amount of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in his account of his motives for entering the ministry. The question is one that frequently recurs, and might much oftener if Manning had not deleted large portions of his diaries before handing them over. Notwithstanding this precaution, Mr. Purcell finds them much closer to the facts than Manning's idealizing notes and recollections in the last years of his life.

After a few months of theological study, Manning went to Lavington in Sussex as a curate of the Rev. John Sargent, and shortly married his daughter and succeeded him as rector of the parish. There he remained until he left the English Church in 1851, in 1841 being made Archdeacon of Chichester. By his marriage, says Mr. Purcell, "the designs of Providence in regard to the future Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church seemed to have been frustrated. But Providence has a long arm, and God in his wisdom took to himself in the fourth year of her marriage the wife of Henry Edward Manning, the cardinal priest to be." In all Manning's diaries and correspondence there is but one allusion to his marriage, and that, written in 1880, is a purely formal one. His love and sorrow were both very great, but "so effectually was the story of his marriage suppressed that on his death Catholics, with one or two exceptions, as well as the general public, knew nothing about his married life." The motive for this suppression was the fear of "an unpleasant impression derogatory to his high ecclesiastical dignity and position."

The interesting thing about Manning's secession from the English Church is that it was not an incident of the Tractarian Movement. It is astonishing how little that affected him. There are few traces of it in his letters when it was at the flood from 1833 to 1838. His original bent was strongly evangelical, and the Low Churchmen counted him as one of them against all comers. His first essay in controversy, 'The Rule of Faith' (1838), was about equally severe on popular Protestantism and Romanism, while avoiding the extremes of both the High and Dry and the Tractarian parties. But the Protestantism of his reproof was the loose jointed contemporary Dissent, not the historic movement of Luther. For some years his valiant stand for this marked him off from the Tractarians more definitely than anything else. They were always girding at the Reformation, he defending it. In his 'Rule of Faith,' Papal infallibility got some hard knocks. It is one of Mr. Purcell's innumerable insinuations that Manning's new departure reflected the temper of his new Bishop, Otter, in whose name the waggish found an omen of his opinions, "neither fish, flesh, nor fowl." The maledictions of the Low Church press and clergy made it easier for Manning to respond to the approaches of the Tractarians, who were disposed to make the most of his inclination to their side. But through all the inconsistencies of his Anglican career runs like a thread of steel his opposition to the encroachment of the civil power upon the Church, culminating in his opposition to the Gorham decision, which was his excuse, if not his reason, for secession. This opposition made him prominent in 1838, soon after his 'Rule of Faith,' and, while commending him to the Tractarians, condoned to some extent his late offence against the Evangelicals. A little later he went to Italy with

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Gladstone, and found the sordidness of Roman worship as little attractive as Newman found it on his first visit. With serious breaks, Manning's friendship with Gladstone was the most lasting of his life, and Mr. Purcell's exhibition of their various relations is one of the most interesting features of his book. It is an exhibition much more creditable to the statesman than to the priest. In Rome they met Wiseman, and walked with him, Wiseman as little dreaming that Manning was the young Protestant who had recently impugned his veracity as that they would, in succession, be archbishops and cardinals of the reconstructed Roman hierarchy in England.

Great was the mortality of Manning's bishops, and, when Shuttleworth succeeded Otter, he at first looked upon Manning as "a Romanizer in disguise." Manning hastened to disabuse him, and succeeded so well that he was made Archdeacon of Chichester. Mrs. Shuttleworth seems to have been a kind of Mrs. Proudy, and "stormed like a fury" over the appointment, but to her also Manning soon made himself *persona grata*. "Manning was the last man to forget that he was now himself a Church dignitary, and bound as such to show reserve and moderation in his religious opinions." The publication of 'Tract 90' had got the Tractarians into deeper water than Manning dared attempt; such was "his habit, in part natural, in part acquired, of never committing himself, if he could help it, to an unpopular movement, or of taking his stand on the side of a falling cause." In a charge of 1841, and more positively in 1842, when the Tractarians were in worse repute, he cleared himself of all complicity with their Romanizing tendencies. "The blessed results of the Reformation" were the staple of his cry. He had dodged the test question of Isaac Williams's election as professor of poetry, but the misfortunes of the Tractarians demanded a more positive opposition if he was not going to be tainted with their ill odor. Hence his 'No Popery' sermon at Oxford on Guy Fawkes Day, 1843. Newman had already resigned St. Mary's and gone to Littlemore, and there Manning called on him the day after his ultra-Protestant manifesto. Newman, who could not reconcile this with Manning's steady approximations to him since 1838 in private correspondence, was "not at home," and such is the irony of circumstance that J. A. Froude brought Manning this rebuff, and, to soothe his feelings, walked half way back to Oxford with him before he discovered that he was without a hat. Mr. Purcell's imputation of the meanest motives to Manning at this juncture will seem excessive to many of his readers, seeing that at this time his faith in the English Church as Protestant and yet Catholic had not begun to fail.

Manning's own account of the years 1843 to 1846 is "Declension—secularity, vanity and anger." Full of ecclesiastical ambition, what he did not want was offered him, and what he wished, the preachership of Lincoln's Inn, he could not get, though he had Gladstone to manage his canvass. From secular ambition he reacted to morbid self-examination, from which "a judicious spiritual director would have saved him," says Mr. Purcell. This became more intense in the course of a dreadful sickness and slow recovery in 1847. With remarkable inconsistency his biographer dates from this sickness a higher spiritual life, and then goes on to show by his correspondence with Robert Wilberforce that from this time forward he was a Roman Catholic in his mind and heart, while still he was stoutly insisting in public that the Anglican had all the notes of a true church. It is strange that what has been so often charged against Newman in this respect, and proved untrue, should be proved against Manning, against whom it has never until now been charged. The Gorham judgment, which permitted an Anglican priest to deny the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, has always been assigned as the cause of Manning's change of base. According to Mr. Purcell, it was simply the last straw that broke the back of his prolonged duplicity. From this point of view we understand Manning's intense engrossment in Roman worship when he was abroad in 1848, and why he knelt in the street to Pius IX.—an act which was the germ of much ecclesiastical good fortune. Gladstone was completely deceived by the reticence of his friend, and imagined the Gorham judgment to be the true cause of his secession to the Roman camp. Meantime, says Mr. Purcell, his "touching, beautiful little sermons . . . did not express, and were not meant to express, his own belief. . . . Such exhortations were formal utterances which he considered it his duty as their spiritual director to address to his penitents."

The Gorham decision was fulminated in March, 1850, and in March, 1851, Manning entered the Roman Church, and in ten weeks, by the special grace of Cardinal Wiseman, he was again a priest. The old ambition soon awoke again, and with more violence than ever, but for several years he found himself, as he expressed it, "in the shallows," his founding of the Oblates of St. Charles at Bayswater being his most important work. But his intimacy with Cardinal Wiseman and Pius IX. steadily increased, and at the Papal court he had an invaluable friend in Mgr. Talbot, the Pope's private chamberlain. The atmosphere of these chapters is as hot and stifling as that of party politics. From the start, Manning was a *Roman* Catholic, not an English one, not a Gallic one, and before long a fight arose between him and the old English Catholics and Gallicans who were jealous of his growing influence. The first battle was over Wiseman's coadjutor, Errington, who had to be got rid of or he might come in for the succession. A more instructive chapter in ecclesiastical politics it would be hard to find than that relating to this business, or one more disabusive of the illusion that the Roman family is a happy one. Mr. Purcell does not hesitate to ascribe the victory to Manning's "somewhat unscrupulous methods"; but Pius IX. called it "a *coup d'état* of the Lord God." Mgr. Talbot could see the divine and human side at once. When the next battle was on, and the victory was Manning's succession to Wiseman as archbishop, Talbot, in a letter boasting of his successful working of the Pope, adds, "Nevertheless I believe your appointment was specially directed by the Holy Ghost." Manning was sometimes awkward in availing himself of the privileges of his intimacy with the Pope, and Mgr. Talbot found it necessary to instruct him that neither a solemn secret nor an oath was binding when the Pope was concerned.

Manning's relations to Newman are explicated at great length, and no doubt is left upon the reader's mind that in their bitter controversy Manning was "the worser spirit, color'd ill." In the letter which brought their correspondence to an end, Newman wrote, "I do not know whether I am on my head or heels when I have active relations with you." It is simply impossible to understand Manning's interpretation of Newman's wishes when the cardinalate was offered him. It has every appearance of an attempt to hinder his advancement by downright dishonesty, but probably his wish was father to his thought—a common trick with men of his imperious will. Quoting entire Manning's eulogy on Newman, Mr. Purcell pronounces its claim of life-long friendship radically false. "Instead of friendship, there was life-long opposition." They had different ideals of Catholic development in England: Manning was fierce for the dogma of infallibility, Newman against it; but the trouble at bottom was that Newman found Manning "difficult to understand," his professions being contradicted by his acts.

In the Vatican council of 1870, Manning's part was so important that the Italians named him "Il Diavolo del Concilio." No other individual did so much to bring about the declaration of infallibility. It was not all that he wanted, his appetite for infallibility being almost as ravenous as W. G. Ward's, who wanted a papal bull for breakfast every morning with his *Times*. The decree was not a day too soon. The day following came the declaration of war between Germany and France. If Manning had not succeeded in averting diplomatic intervention, this event would have found the dogma still undeclared, and its indefinite postponement might have been for ever.

Mr. Purcell's volumes count 1,534 pages, and it is only a meagre summary of their contents that can be given in a brief review. There are great deductions from the reader's pleasure in them in the continual turning of Mr. Purcell's narrative upon itself, and in the absolute lack of any charm in Manning's diary and letters. He is better in his notes, in which, with intense self-consciousness, he poses as he would like to stand in history. His sympathy with the laboring poor, if not always well directed, is the most agreeable aspect of his life. For all his caution he was capable of extreme haste and rashness. If Mr. Purcell wishes us to admire his character, his laborious work cannot be considered a success. His praise, which sometimes is mere fustian, is perfunctory and unreal in comparison with his direct and carefully insinuated blame. The general impression that frees itself from the multitude of details is that of a man of hard and brilliant intellect, without imagination or insight, of great ambition and unbending will, sensitive to public opinion, loving the winning side, extremely engaging in his voice and manner, lively in conversation, eloquent in public speech, without spontaneous affection and making few friends, treating some of the best of these unhandsomely, using others and then forgetting them alive or dead, arriving at length at an almost complete personal isolation, living in a world of tradition and logomachy unvisited by any breezes of the modern spirit; a figure dignified and imposing but most melancholy on its lonely height. There are modifications of this general impression, but they do not seriously affect its impact on the reader's mind.

Vera Barantzova. From the Russian of Sonya Kovalevsky. With an Introduction and a Memoir of the Author by Sergius Stepniak and William Westall. London: Ward & Downey. 1895. Pp. 281.

THIS novel of the gifted mathematician, Sonya Kovalevsky, which has been awaited with great interest by English-speaking people, will not disappoint expectation. It is hardly to be called a novel; it is rather a swift, incisive, dramatic sketch of Russian life at the moment of the emancipation of the serfs, and during

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(and at the end of) the period of political calm which followed the Polish insurrection, Karakasoff's attempt to assassinate the Czar, and the banishment of Tchernyshevsky. The central figure of the scene, Vera Barantzova, was the youngest daughter in a family belonging to the nobility, and living with luxury and freedom from care upon a large estate; the emancipation of the serfs not only brought it to the verge of ruin financially, but turned its members into disappointed and irritable beings, with whom it was no pleasure to live. Vera was left wholly to herself, and grew up quite untamed and untrained, but with the seeds planted for a future life of devotion by the one book which was her constant study—the lives of the martyrs. Finally a university professor, forced to return to his estate for political reasons, took her education in charge, and taught her not only the learning of books, but also that it was not necessary to go to the ancient Romans or to China to find martyrs in holy causes.

With this preparation, a woman like Vera, with all the beauty and fiery spirit for which the Barantzova family had long been famous, and in a country which makes such strong claim upon its noble women for a life of forgetfulness of private weal and woe, was sure of the fate of many another Russian patriot. We shall not follow out the train of events which end with her departure for Siberia, not as a prisoner, but as the wife of the convicted leader of a little band of Nihilists. The reader has come to be fully in sympathy with Vera's last words:

"I saw my future life before me as on a map. I should live among the exiles, comfort and console them, and minister to their needs, and become the intermediary of their correspondence. . . . How strangely, and yet how simply, it has all come about! I am so happy, dear, so happy."

The simplicity of the *mise en scène*, the swiftness with which events move onward to the inevitable end, the single-mindedness of the heroine, combine to produce an effect of great truthfulness and power, and one cannot but lament the loss of a great novelist as well as a brilliant mathematician in the early death of Sonya Kovalevsky.

The novel is preceded by an account of the author, by Stepniak, which offers nothing new to those who have already read her Life, recently reviewed in these columns. But the present condition of discussion in regard to her is interesting. None of the great Russian writers have been more generally admired or more sincerely mourned in their native land. After her death Russian literature was flooded with articles on her life, her personality, and her work, both as scientist and authoress. Very soon the radical opinions which she had held became known; her name became a watchword for the Liberal party, and an expression of sympathy with her work was equivalent to a declaration of liberal aspirations. So roundabout a way of proclaiming opinions, strange as it may appear in the countries of free speech, is merely a natural device in Russia, but in this instance it became a matter of such moment that, as we are told, the Government has deemed it expedient to issue a secret order to the press forbidding any further mention of Mme. Kovalevsky's name.

Twelve Hundred Miles in a Waggon. By Alice Blanche Balfour. With illustrations by the Author. New York: Edward Arnold. 1895. Pp. xix, 265. 8vo.

THIS sprightly narrative of a "trek" through the territories of the British South Africa Company has a peculiar interest, for several reasons. The writer is the sister of the leader of the House of Commons and prospective prime minister of Great Britain. The mode of travelling, by ox-wagon, is fast disappearing before the steady advance of the railway; and the regions visited are just now dividing the attention of the civilized world with Armenia and Venezuela. Its literary merit consists in the simple and unpretentious way in which Miss Balfour tells her story. Avoiding all labored descriptions of scenery, and discussions of political, social, and ethnographical topics, she wisely confines herself to narrating the ordinary incidents of a singularly uneventful journey. Although she has no startling experiences with lions or Matabele, nor any mishap beyond the occasional breaking of a wagon pole, yet it would be difficult to find a more graphic account of life in an ox-wagon on the high veldt.

Cape Town was reached in April, 1894, and the next few weeks were spent in making various excursions by rail. One was to Basutoland, a Crown colony in which white settlement is prohibited. The natives are very numerous and apparently prosperous, many being "extremely rich" in cattle. Their land is suffering from the water-courses, which cut deep ravines (called dongas) in the soil. They intersect the plains in every direction and are rapidly increasing in size and number. The planting of trees would check them, but the natives dislike trees because of their attraction to doves and pigeons, who "congregate and multiply so enormously wherever there is any wood, that they almost destroy the neighboring crops." At Johannesburg Miss Balfour found there were "two absorbing topics of interest—gold-mining and politics." The latter, indeed, was then the most prominent, "the ever-smouldering irritation of the English at the inequality of treatment they suffer under the Boers being ready to burst into a blaze at the prospect of the commandeering for the war with the natives." The inability of this singular people to accommodate themselves to new ideas and circumstances is illustrated by the fact that many of them refuse to destroy locusts, "on the ground that, like the plagues of Egypt, they are the direct visitation of God." A resolution against their destruction, "on account of religious scruples," was carried in the Volksraad of the Orange Free State at the time of Miss Balfour's visit.

The wagons were taken at the terminus of the railroad which is to connect Cape Town with Mashonaland, and the route lay through Khama's town to Bulawayo, the Chartered Company's headquarters. "I have Sir John Willoughby's room," writes Miss Balfour.

"This is a true and faithful description of it. It has mud walls, mud floor, thatched roof with no ceiling, doors made of two packing-case lids, and an unglazed window with shutter of rough boards. Furniture: a bedstead, one box upside down, some wooden shelves, a small strip of matting, an empty whiskey bottle doing duty as a candlestick, and (oh, luxury!) a table. Dr. Jameson's room, occupied by Mrs. Grey, is much the same, only it has a six-inch-square looking-glass as well."

From Salisbury, the farthest northern point of the journey, the travellers turned eastward and reached the sea at Beira. Here a steamer was taken for Dar es Salaam, the capital of German East Africa.

"The town is a remarkable production to be the work of only three years, but somehow it looks more like a German watering-place than anything else; and in the European quarter there is hardly any sign of trade or business going on. One cannot help contrasting it with such a place as Bulawayo, where you have a few mud huts, a few iron roofs, officials in shirt-sleeves, and a general air of bustle and 'go-aheadness.' Here, on the contrary, are many large buildings, concrete roads, ornamental gardens, officers in spotless uniforms, much clicking of heels and bowing, but nothing else. . . . It was also a shock to our English ideas to see numbers of native women working on the roads, and being driven to their work by a white man carrying a large raw-hide whip. I became daily more astonished at the number of convicts or prisoners. Everywhere you came upon gangs of four to eight—often women—chained together by the necks and hounded along by a black policeman or soldier. I should think there were fewer prisoners in all the Chartered Company's territories than in this one little town."

After this it will not be difficult to understand why Germany makes so little progress in Africa.

The attractions of the book, which is an admirable specimen of typography, are increased by numerous illustrations, from sketches by the author. There is an outline map to show the route, but no index.

The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration, 1821-1840: Its Causes and Results. With an Introduction on the Services Rendered by the Scandinavians to the World and to America. By Rasmus B. Anderson, LL.D. Madison, Wis.: The Author. 1895.

THIS book was written to chronicle the first six Norwegian settlements in the United States. There is not a page in it but will be read with avidity by a certain class. Threescore pioneers, some of whom came on the first vessel, are here shown in "counterfeit presentments," while not one likeness of any *Mayflower* passenger has survived. Many Norse readers will be attracted by local and personal details far back of their own memories, and will ascertain genealogical minutiæ otherwise beyond their reach. Each of the eight prominent leaders—each a man *sui generis*—is honored with a monograph. All who are interested in the American types of Scandinavian Christianity will here read concerning its vicissitudes what they would be sorry to miss. The introductory chapter would not have been inserted save by way of catering to Scandinavian race-pride. That section is a notable specimen of holding a button so near the eye that it hides the sun. As Douglas Campbell proves that we owe everything to Scotch-Irish or Scotch or Dutch—just as many before him had made the same claim for the English Puritan—and as Pascal traced all the world's culture to Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem, so Mr. Anderson's great first cause in world-history is the old Norse Viking or Berserker. Too many are now captivated by such a hemming into one single race of the legacies to which all races have contributed. This chapter accordingly befits the lecture-platform, where it has no doubt done yeoman service, rather than a sober history.

But to the general reader Prof. Anderson's book will be of interest and value for its accounts of the Norwegian settlements above enumerated, which were all that existed within the United States in 1840—a date up to which, according to the Census Commissioner, the Scandinavian immigration was "of no importance." To elucidate the genesis and exodus of these colonies—the first in Western New York (Orleans County), the second and third in Illinois (La Salle County and Chicago), and the other three in southeastern Wisconsin—is the chronicler's end and aim. He felt that in these "seeds and weak beginnings" there lay visible in minia-

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ture to a prophetic eye the occult forces which within seventy years have brought into our country a million and a quarter (p. 40) of immigrants from a region whose largest census never amounted to eight millions. This Scandinavian upheaval has been far more extensive in Norway than in Denmark or even in Sweden. Partly on this account, but still more as being himself the son of an early Norwegian emigrant, Prof. Anderson has limited himself to Norwegian settlements. Regarding these there is much of pith and validity in his book. Through his position as United States Minister to Denmark, through travel in Norway, through conversations with eight survivors of the pioneers on the first ship and correspondence with others, through personal familiarity with the colonial sites, through knowledge of whatever had been written on his theme—and thanks to Norwegian as half his own vernacular—he had become preëminently fitted for his task. Rather it is plain on every page that it was for him no task, but a labor of love.

The reasons for Scandinavian emigration are singularly similar to those which brought the first Puritans, Quakers, and Huguenots across the Atlantic, and so the children of all these religionists can claim descent from the noble army of martyrs. Though aware that history repeats itself, we read with surprise of a Norwegian imprisoned from 1804 to 1814 for "advocating the right of laymen to preach" (p. 48); of "people who had no voice in selecting their own pastors" (p. 303); of Quaker children baptized by force, and of yet more harsh persecutions (pp. 50, etc.). At length several Norwegian dissenters resolved on a new departure. They clubbed together, and, getting a favorable report from prospectors they had sent to America, in 1825 bought a sloop of forty-five tons, for which and a ballast of iron they paid $1,800. Their leader was the man at whose house the first Quaker meeting had been held. On this small craft fifty-two persons were crowded, only two of them seamen. They embarked and were driven south to the Azores, picking up a pipe of wine on the way. On the ninth of October, 1825, after a passage of fourteen weeks, they arrived in New York, and were welcomed by Quakers. Through Quaker kindness, transportation at six dollars a head was paid for them on the canal, opened that same year, to Rochester, as well as cheap lands on long credit in that neighborhood. These colonists bettered their condition, but kept the noiseless tenor of their way, and it was eleven years before any other emigrant ship followed on their track. The notices of the first Norwegian arrival in contemporary American newspapers, among them the New York *Evening Post* (p. 76), oddly enough Prof. Anderson found of service in determining several points in his narrative. But in 1835, when the first of their number returned to Norway, he was received by the simple folk as one alive from the dead. He spoke of high wages to men whose yearly wage, in addition to food and clothing, was five dollars; of land for all land-lovers to those who despaired of such a boon where no more than one acre in 121 is arable, and where primogeniture doubled hopelessness. A stampede filling two brigs at once ensued. Good mechanics gladly bound themselves to pay two years' service for the ocean transit.

Before the second party arrived it was learned that in Illinois better land could be had for ten shillings, and often for four, than had cost five dollars in Kendall where the pioneers had settled. Hence the newcomers and some of the old ones swarmed to La Salle. Thence, many of them, and other new arrivals, in hopes to escape the "chills" and afterward cholera epidemic in 1849-50, set their faces towards Wisconsin. By 1840 three Norwegian hamlets had there been formed, which in half a century have grown to a population of 65,696 surviving Norwegian immigrants in 1890. In 1895 the combined number of native Norwegians and Swedes, according to the State census, was 106,468. But in 1890 the native Swedes numbered 20,157, so that the total of Norwegian-born Wisconsians cannot be more than 86,311, even if there has been no increase whatever of native-born Swedes. The census, however, of Norwegians in Wisconsin, as given by our author, is 130,737 (p. 42). By this number he cannot mean the total of Wisconsin Norwegians and their children, for he sets that multitude down as no less than 596,131 in 1894. Both statements are specimens of those exaggerations to which Norsemen, in extolling their own people, are rather prone. In point of fact, between 1880 and 1890 the Wisconsin percentage of increase in Swedish immigrants was 248 per cent., and that of Norwegians was less than 14 per cent. The truth is that the census of native Norwegians in that State has reached its maximum. Immigrants long ago passed it by for Minnesota, and then for the Dakotas, where farms could be secured at cheaper rates. Such a trans-Wisconsin movement has been most prevalent among Norwegians because more of them proportionally are tillers of the soil than can be found among any other nationalities. Hence, their percentage is small in New York and Illinois, where they first planted, and smaller in Wisconsin than in newer States beyond. In 1890, Wisconsin native Norwegians were one twenty-fifth of the population; in the Dakotas they were one eleventh. The quality of Norwegian immigrants is on the whole so excellent that their quantity cannot be too great. We see them to be so good that we would gladly believe them as multitudinous as Prof. Anderson reckons them. In our judgment they will become so.

The Natural History of Plants: Their Forms, Growth, Reproduction, and Distribution. From the German of Anton Kerner von Marilaun, Professor of Botany in the University of Vienna, by F. W. Oliver, M.A., Quain Professor of Botany in University College, London, with the assistance of Marion Busk, B.Sc., and Mary Ewart, B.Sc. Half volumes 3 and 4. Henry Holt & Co. 1895.

WHEN we noticed the first two half-volumes a short time ago, we hardly dared to hope for the immediate completion of this translation. We feared that its publication would drag, and that interest in the first parts would flag before the second and concluding portions should appear. In this we have been happily disappointed. The final volume is now in hand, and its character makes it in every way a fitting companion to the first. The author evidently planned at the outset to take every attractive feature of plants of all grades, and place these attractive features in the very best light. For this purpose he has skilfully employed a brilliant style of exposition, and he has not hesitated to use illustrations in black and in color with the freest hand. The purpose has been attained. He has succeeded in constructing a popular work on the phenomena of vegetation which is practically without any rival. The German edition has been accepted from the first as a useful treatise for the instruction of the public; in fact, some of its illustrations have been taken bodily from the volumes by museum curators, to enrich exhibition cases designed for the people. With two exceptions, the full-page colored plates leave little to be desired, and might well find a place in every public museum in which botany has a share. Most of the minor engravings are unexceptionable. They are clear, and are almost wholly free from distracting details which render worthless so many illustrations in popular works on natural history. Prof. Kerner's style in German is seldom obscure—it is what one might fairly call easy reading; but it is no disparagement to him and his style to state that the translation is clearer than the original throughout. Many a long sentence in the original has been broken into small and readily handled fragments, with strict regard to English and not to German usage and idiom. We repeat what was said in the notice of the earlier volumes, that the translators have been unusually successful in every part of their task.

In the first two issues, the author was engaged chiefly with the study of the structure of the plant and its adaptation to its surroundings. In this concluding volume he considers the plant from the point of view of its relations to others. Therefore he begins with a full and absorbingly interesting account of reproduction in the vegetable kingdom, and then passes to an examination of species. Under this head he takes up in succession the nature of species and alterations in the form of species, opening up the grave questions of inheritance, mutilation, and the genesis of new forms. This prepares the way for the subject of derivation of existing species and their relations to one another. At this most natural point the author deals, in a manner partly original and wholly suggestive, with the classification of plants of all degrees. After this comes the distribution of species by offshoots, by fruits and seeds, and there follows then an examination of the limits of distribution. Just here special stress is laid on the possibility of defining plant communities and floras, which, having been done to the author's satisfaction, leaves the matter of floras themselves to be dealt with on a climatic and genetic basis. On this basis he defines thirty-five floras, of which we, in our geographical limits, have the following: Canadian and Columbian, just south of the Arctic flora; Mississippi, Missouri, Pacific, Texas, Mexican, and Antilles. But our author would willingly admit, no doubt, that these divisions are rather arbitrary and provisional, being, in fact, mere makeshifts. As he says, "There is nothing for it, therefore, for the present but to grope along with the help of the little that has been ascertained."

The closing chapter, on the extinction of species, is one of the most suggestive in the whole work. It attacks certain problems which belong partly to the domain of geology and partly to the field of biology, making allowable use of facts which have been acquired by the observation of glacial advance and recession. It would be most unfair to omit speaking of the excellent glossary and the copious index. With these the work becomes a most convenient and trustworthy treasury of material for teachers of elementary botany, and a handbook for ready reference by all who desire to know something about vegetation. A very learned teacher of botany used to tell his classes that he did not want the old saying to be applicable to them, namely, that "one half the world does not know how the other half lives." With this book, there is no excuse for even busy

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people to be ignorant of how the other half, the plant-half, lives.

Records of the Clan and Name of Fergusson, Ferguson, and Fergus. Edited for the Clan Fergus(s)on Society by James Ferguson and Robert Menzies Fergusson. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1895.

THE aim of the editors of this sumptuous volume is best stated in their own words. "As originally contemplated," they say in their prefatory note, "the publication did not propose to supply a full and detailed history of the various families of the name, but rather to place on record materials yet preserved in the recollection of individuals, or in MSS., which might otherwise disappear; to collect scattered notices of the name, and to give a general view of the fortunes of the clan in different districts of Scotland and elsewhere." Unexpected abundance of material has carried the undertaking beyond the limits at first intended; but it may be said at once that the result is a book which, notwithstanding some obvious defects, is likely to be of permanent value to both the historian and the genealogist.

It is with Fergus Mor MacEarca, who came to Scotland from Ireland in the year 498, rather than with the mythical King Fergus, that the clan and name of Ferguson are to be connected. Throughout the early history of Scotland and the Scottish church the name, under one form or another, is of frequent occurrence. But the early families scattered widely over Scotland, and between these families "no definite link of proved relationship can be established," although "interesting traditions and customs suggest that all may originally have come from a common source." Tradition assigns to the Fergusons a prominent part in the battle of Bannockburn, and connects the Athole clan with the fortunes of Robert Bruce. Athole was the chief seat of the Highland Fergusons, who were described in 1587 as an "unruly clan"; they were probably among the followers of Montrose, and "formed the original nucleus" of the Cavalier army; later they were involved in the struggles of 1745.

The absence of assured historical connection between the various families of Fergusons in the early period is probably the reason which led the editors to group the members of the clan by districts; and they have been successful in bringing together a large amount of interesting and valuable material, drawn partly from official records, partly from family papers and personal recollections. Perhaps this arrangement is the best that could have been adopted under the circumstances; but in this case, at least, the arrangement emphasizes the diversity of origin at the same time that it increases the difficulty of tracing such connection as actually exists between Fergusons of different districts. Fortunately for those who will use the book, there is a good index. In the accounts of the more prominent members of the clan the note of praise is of course not wanting, and repetitions are inevitable; but the grouping of material is on the whole orderly, and personal claims to distinction are not unduly pressed. Considerable, but hardly disproportionate, space is naturally given to those bearers of the Ferguson name who have become widely known: Adam Ferguson, professor of natural philosophy at Edinburgh, secretary to the commission sent out in 1778 to negotiate with the American colonies, and who dropped the second *s* from his name "on the ground that it was unnecessary, and therefore unworthy of a philosopher"; Sir Adam Ferguson, eldest son of the professor, dubbed by Scott "the merry Knight," and Col. James Ferguson, with whom Scott drank "rather a cheerful glass"; Robert Ferguson, the physician; James Ferguson, Lord Pitfour, one of the most popular lawyers of his day; Robert Ferguson, the poet; James Ferguson, the astronomer, and James Fergusson, the architect. Scott, as is well known, was on intimate terms with several of the Fergusons, especially those at Huntlyburn; and their intercourse is the subject of several interesting contributions.

A chapter is devoted to Fergusons in Ireland, another to Fergusons in England, and a third to those in Holland, Poland, and Ceylon. There are several references to Fergusons in America, but apparently no attempt was made to trace in detail the history of the clan representatives in this country. The father of Dr. Robert Ferguson was born in America, where his father had settled, and was with the British army until 1782, being for a time "clerk of issues" in the commissary department. Captain James Ferguson was in command of a frigate of thirty-two guns during the early part of the Revolutionary War, and was especially commended by Lord Howe for his "ability testified in the direction of many difficult and fatiguing services" in the operations about New York. There is an interesting account of the services of Col. W. O. Ferguson in South America under Gen. Bolivar. In the case of James Frederick Ferguson, the Irish antiquary, son of Jacques Frédéric (not Jaques Frederic, as at p. 470) Jaquemain, it would seem to have been worth while to mention the fact of his birth in South Carolina, as well as his great work of indexing the Irish Exchequer records.

About fifty pages are devoted to a bibliography of writings by and about Fergusons, prepared, the editors say, "after a careful examination of the catalogues of the leading libraries, and in several cases with the personal assistance of the authors." It is to be regretted that the work at this point could not have been better done: the editors were plainly on unfamiliar ground, and the result is a list whose accuracy cannot be depended on. We note a few instances only. "Seven editions" of Adam Ferguson's 'Essay on the History of Civil Society' are spoken of (p. 518); an eighth edition was published in Philadelphia in 1819; there are also translations in French and German. In the body of the work (p. 145), this book is said to have been published in 1766; the bibliography gives the date as 1767. Brewster's edition of James Ferguson's 'Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles' is omitted. There was another edition of Robert M. Ferguson's 'Electricity' in 1873. Rev. David Fergusson's 'Answer to Ane Epistle' was reprinted in 1860 by the Bannatyne Club; but the fact is not noted, although the volume containing the reprint is duly entered. The titles of early printed books are not always accurately given: it is a bibliographical commonplace that if the original spelling and punctuation are to be followed at all, they should be followed consistently and exactly. A curious instance of abbreviated title occurs in the body of the work (p. 310), where what appears to be the full title of David Fergusson's 'Epithalamium Mysticum Solomonis Regis sive Analysis,' etc., is given, but with the words "Solomonis Regis" omitted; in the bibliography the name appears as Ferguson, and the title is given as 'Analysis Critico-Practica Cantici Canticorum.' In some cases it is to be feared that titles have been taken bodily, without verification, from "the catalogues of leading libraries": on page 542, for example, is the entry, 'On the Antiquity of the Kilie, or Boomerang. (In V. 19.) 1841.' What "in V. 19" means does not appear from anything in the text; "catalogues of leading libraries" indicate a reference to the publications of the Royal Irish Academy, which are noted in connection with another title on the succeeding page.

There is a valuable chapter on Ferguson heraldry. The colored heraldic plates are extremely well done. The full-page illustrations, most of them from portraits, are creditable; but the smaller ones are as a rule inferior.

Essays in Taxation. By Edwin R. A. Seligman. Macmillan & Co. 1895. 8vo, pp. x, 434.

DURING the past five years, Prof. Seligman has been publishing in various economic periodicals articles upon taxation, especially upon American taxation, whose solidity, vigor, and accuracy have challenged admiration. A number of these articles, revised and brought down to date, are now reprinted in a handsome volume. The chapters are entitled: The Development of Taxation, the General Property Tax, the Single Tax, Double Taxation, the Inheritance Tax, the Taxation of Corporations (three chapters), the Classification of Public Revenues, Recent Reforms in Taxation, the Betterment Tax, Recent European Literature in Taxation, and American Reports on Taxation. These thirteen essays, though nominally disconnected, are so uniform in treatment and so interpenetrated by well-matured convictions, that they may almost be said to constitute a treatise on taxation. They do not form, to be sure, a comprehensive treatise, since many subjects of prime importance—*e. g.*, customs duties and other indirect taxes upon business and consumption, the income tax, progressive taxation, the shifting of taxes, tax administration, and the relation of various taxes to one another—receive but incidental discussion. Indeed, to speak in terms of our own tax system, the whole subject of federal taxation is almost ignored. Within their field, however, the 'Essays' are far superior to the tax-commission reports which, in their original or in some vamped form, have served heretofore as our chief sources of information — and misinformation — concerning taxation in American States and cities.

Throughout Prof. Seligman's book his wide acquaintance with the literature of finance is evident. He knows the Germans, but he is not their slave. Their influence never misleads him, as it did Bastable, into the use of un-English terms like "subject of taxation" and "object of taxation" for tax-bearer and thing taxed, nor yet into elucidating the expression "political sciences" by a parenthesized "(*Staatswissenschaften*)." Mr. Seligman, on the contrary, has really mastered Wagner and Cohn and Schäffle. His grasp upon the economic and upon the legal principles exhibited in the field of taxation is strengthened thereby, while he still exercises independent judgment, and does not mistake analogies from Continental conditions for descriptions of American or even of English taxation. Against such misapprehensions there could, indeed, be no better bar than the frequent investigations which he has made into the history of our own taxes. The facts thus brought out give the reader greater confidence in the author's conclusions than could even the most rigid deduction from such unverified assumptions as lie at the basis of much "economic thought."

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The introductory essay emphasizes "the slow and laborious growth of standards of justice in taxation, and the attempt on the part of the community as a whole to realize this justice." This growth involves a progressive recognition of ability to pay and of benefit received as bases, each in its place, for the distribution of taxation. It involves also a gradual transition, due to the development of novel sorts of intangible property, from position to acquisition—that is, from property to income—as the only adequate index of ability to pay. In the second essay the history of the general property tax is sketched. That history in Rome, France, Germany, England, and America is the same:

"As soon as the idea of direct taxation has forced itself into recognition, it assumes the practical shape of the land tax. This soon develops into the tax on general property, which [meaning property, not the tax] long remains the index of ability to pay. But as soon as the mass of property splits up, the property tax becomes an anachronism. The various kinds of personalty escape, until finally the general property tax completes the cycle of its development and reverts to its original form in the real property tax."

England, and Continental Europe generally, long ago recognized the injustice of the general property tax as the sole or even the chief means of raising revenue, and frankly turned it into a land tax, supplemented by taxes on persons, on business, on house-rent, on incomes, etc. Only in the advanced democracies does the old property tax still survive, in Switzerland, Australia, and the United States. In these countries, too, its imperfections have finally been realized, and each is gradually developing the supplementary taxes most obviously workable under its conditions—the United States first introducing corporation taxes, and afterwards adding the inheritance taxes with which the Australian colonies began, while the Swiss cantons first of all developed the income tax, a late-comer in Australia, and are now beginning to follow our example in taxing corporations. To this same question of the taxation of corporations more than a quarter of Prof. Seligman's book is devoted, and nowhere, so far as we know, are the economic aspects of this complicated and difficult subject treated with such fulness of knowledge and such keenness of analysis as here. On the law of corporation taxes an enormous amount has been written; but, after all, it is the economic rather than the legal factor which must ultimately determine their fate.

Not the least interesting chapter is that on recent reforms in taxation, especially in English, Dutch, and Prussian taxation. Alike in Sir William Harcourt's famous "democratic budget" of 1894, in the reforms of Mr. N. G. Pierson and in those of Dr. Miquel, "the same tendency is unmistakable, the trend to greater justice in taxation." The Prussian reform of 1891-1893 is further notable for bringing about a segregation of source between state and local revenues—a policy earnestly recommended to our own commonwealths.

We pass to mention a few points from which it is possible to dissent. Unquestionably some personal property escapes taxation for want of uniformity in the laws determining its *situs*. Pending interstate agreement upon this point, "it may be possible," says Prof. Seligman (p. 114), "to reach intangible personalty through some form of national taxation, the general Government then to apportion the proceeds to the States." Not only is this remedy, as Prof. Seligman recognizes, impracticable, in view of the last income-tax decision, but to many people it will seem distinctly worse than the disease. We hope never again to see the States the fiscal beneficiaries, even in appearance, of the federal Treasury. Again, we cannot help thinking Prof. Seligman ill-advised in his use of the assertion that the "single tax" cannot raise wages. If real wages, and not mere money wages, are intended, the assertion may very plausibly be disputed; at any rate, his cogent and convincing arguments against the single tax do not need the assertion even if it is true, while they suffer from it if it be false. Finally, in the highly technical chapter entitled "The Classification of Public Revenues," the discussion with Bastable runs into a style which reminds us of the beginnings of a German "Professorenzank," a kind of squabble which we may well leave to the universities of the Fatherland. In spite of occasional blemishes, however, Prof. Seligman's book is capable of holding its own with the best writing on taxation in the better known languages—a book, too, which legislator and citizen alike may read with alternate complacency and mortification, but with uniform profit.

Labor in its Relations to Law. By F. J. Stimson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895.

THIS little book consists of four lectures delivered at the Plymouth School of Ethics, and it is quite probable that the character of the audience addressed had its influence on the treatment. Presumptively Mr. Stimson's hearers were neither economists nor lawyers, and the task of instruction and conversion must have been far from easy; but it has been performed with great skill and judgment. Some unpalatable truths had to be administered, but they have been so dexterously concealed in a vehicle of persuasive argument as to leave no bitter taste behind. By frankly professing sympathy with laborers, Mr. Stimson disarms opposition, and, having complied with the first maxim of the forum—to create a favorable impression towards the speaker in the minds of his hearers—he leads them gently away from the lotos groves of sentimentalism to the sober realms of reason and common sense.

Occasionally, however, Mr. Stimson is himself quite too mild. The barbarous legislation which prohibits the inmates of prisons from productive labor draws from him only the feeble complaint that "our sentimental altruism" should not carry us so far as to object to the employment of our criminals in healthy outside work. Why should it carry us so far as to object to their employment in healthy inside work? And why should Mr. Stimson particularly recommend their employment in enterprises which private capital avoids as unremunerative? Must not the convicts be somehow supported? And if they are not to be supported by their own labor, must it not be by the labor of free citizens? Here was an opportunity missed to administer a wholesome corrective to our sentimental altruism.

The statement of the law relating to the contracts between master and servant, and to such special episodes as strikes and boycotts, is very lucid and succinct. In fact, the book will serve very well as a manual of what is called labor legislation. The policy of many of these laws is well meant, and receives suitable commendation from Mr. Stimson, while the futility and unconstitutionality of a considerable class of statutes are plainly exposed. He looks forward to the attainment of peace in the industrial world, or at least of progress toward peace, through the development of the trade-unions. Doubtless the members of these unions, if they combine with their masters, can secure many things for both parties, but the fate of the outside laborers, who are, even in England, probably nine-tenths of the whole number, deserves some consideration. A combination of this kind may create an invincible monopoly, which is something that no believer in freedom can look forward to with gladness.

Socrates, and Athenian Society in his Day: A Biographical Sketch. By A. D. Godley, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Macmillan & Co. 1896. Pp. vi, 232.

THIS book is not intended, its author tells us, "for classical scholars or professed Platonists, but rather for the large and increasing class of students who do not wish to be debarred altogether from an acquaintance with Greek literature by their ignorance of the Greek language." In other words, it is another of the many attempts to begin an acquaintance with those productions which are preëminently the masterpieces of form and beauty, by casting away the beautiful form itself; to learn what the Greeks said, leaving out how they said it—that is, to learn Greek without Greek.

Mr. Godley proposes to effect this object by a series of passages translated chiefly from Plato, partly from Aristophanes and Xenophon, accompanied by some account from other sources of the position of Athens and the Athenians during the life-time of Socrates. His versions are spirited and accurate, and may be compared with those of Jowett, not at all to the advantage of the latter; which is remarkable in the work of an Oxonian. The principle of selection is not so commendable. There is far too much space given to the myths; the Atlantis and the story of Er, however striking in themselves and necessary for a knowledge of Plato, take up much space in a Life of Socrates which had far better be given to the 'Crito,' the 'Phædrus,' and the 'Theætetus.' It may not be easy to decide the exact ratio of Plato's intimacy with Socrates to that of Xenophon; but Mr. Godley seems yet in the fetters of the English traditional belief that because Plato's Socrates has much greater literary charm and richness of thought than Xenophon's, therefore it is more correct as a picture.

The material of the book has been so long before the world, and been so thoroughly thrashed over, that there is not much chance for original research; but the author has made one discovery, namely, that the attack on Socrates in the "Clouds" is just such scandal as arises in any small town, *e. g.*, Tennyson's Lincolnshire village. Considering the position Athens occupied in the civilized world in 423 B. C., and the crowds that were likely to assemble at the city Dionysia, all eager to see the comedies to which the truce was admitting them for the first time in eight years, such a reduction of Athens to the level of Chichester or Medicine Lodge is indeed novel. There are some points in Athenian society which all classical scholars know can never be explained to readers of English; and Mr. Godley's reserved paraphrases are as unsuccessful as his predecessors'. We also are favored with the repetition of the favorite English blunder, as follows: "In a large society, abstention from politics is a matter of choice. No one is seriously blamed for being what Americans call a 'Mugwump.'" A Mugwump, Mr. Godley is respectfully informed, is anything but an abstinent from politics.

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The book is extremely elegant in all points of outward dress, and is generally correct in printing; but on page 198 there is a bad misprint of *labens* for *labem* in the quotation of Virgil's 'Æneid,' vi., 746.

Old Chester: Etched and described by H. Hovell Crickmore. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. Pp. 133.

THE city of Chester, with its well-preserved ancient walls, its interesting cathedral, and its admirable old houses, is one of the most attractive places in England to American travellers. It is proportionally attractive to Englishmen, and has been the subject of many publications, some of them of value. The present work is a chatty and discursive account of old buildings and of the two neighboring country houses, Eaton Hall and Hawarden Castle, the seats of the Duke of Westminster and Mr. Gladstone, respectively. It is illustrated by eleven etchings and twenty reproduced pen-drawings, not very masterly considered as renderings of architecture, although two or three of the etchings are much superior (in this respect and also in value as a record) to the other etchings and the pen-drawings. The chapter on "Bridge St. and Lower Bridge St." shows evidence of a considerable personal knowledge of the old houses which are as yet unmarred by restoration, and the few words given to the cathedral and to St. John's Church are much to the purpose and argue a lively sense of essential differences in architecture. Much the greater part of the text is given to a semi-jocose treatment of the legends and partly historical traditions connected with the buildings of the city and the city itself. The constant use of exclamation marks, combined with the little exclamatory clauses, "Oh, dear!" "Ah well!" and the rest, emphasizes the extremely modern language employed in many of the pages. Popular slang and funny writing need the exclamation points, as also do the bits of sentiment which are freely applied to the sad records of the past, and both are used in this presentation of ancient adventures and ancient miseries to modern readers. In spite of much bad taste, the book is readable and an aid to the understanding of history.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anderegg, Prof. Frederick, and Roe, Prof. E. A. Trigonometry for Schools and Colleges. Boston: Ginn & Co. 80c.
Austin, Alfred. England's Darling. Macmillan. $1.25.
Berenson, Bernhard. The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance. With an Index to their Works. Putnams. $1.
Davis, Mrs. Rebecca Harding. Doctor Warrick's Daughters. Harpers. $1.50.
Eckenstein, Lina. Woman under Monasticism. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. $4.
Field, Edward. Tax Lists of the Town of Providence, 1686-1689. Providence: Howard W. Preston.
Gibbon, Edward. Mahomet. New York: Peter Eckler. 25c.
Gilbert, Lee. Jack Hartnett. G. W. Dillingham. 50c.
Hubbard, Elbert. The Song of Songs: A Reprint and a Study. East Aurora, N. Y.: Roycroft Printing Shop.
Jacobs, Joseph. Jewish Ideals, and Other Essays. Macmillan. $2.50.
King, Dr. C. R. Life and Correspondence of Rufus King. Vol. III. 1799-1801. Putnams.
La Nouvelle Femme. G. W. Dillingham. 75c.
Lee, Vernon. Renaissance Fancies and Studies. Putnams. $1.25.
Mahaffy, J. P. The Empire of the Ptolemies. Macmillan. $3.50.
March, Thomas. The History of the Paris Commune of 1871. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. $2
Moulton, Prof. R. G. Ecclesiasticus. [The Modern Reader's Bible.] Macmillan. 50c.
Norway, A. H. History of the Post-office Packet Service, 1793-1815. Macmillan. $3.50.
Obnet, Georges. Le Chant du Cygne. Maynard, Merrill & Co. 20c.
Peacock, T. L. Headlong Hall and Nightmare Abbey. Macmillan. $1.25.
Peddie, William. A Manual of Physics. 2d ed. London: Ballière, Tindall & Cox; New York: Putnams. $2.50.
Pemberton, Max. The Sea Wolves. Rand, McNally & Co.
Prescott, W. H. The Conquest of Mexico. Abridged. Maynard, Merrill & Co. 36c.
Regeneration: A Reply to Max Nordau. London: A. Constable & Co; New York: Putnams. $1.75.
Rolland, Jean. Sous les Galons. Paris: Colin & Cie.
Roscoe, H. E., and Harden, Arthur. A New View of the Origin of Dalton's Atomic Theory. Macmillan. $1.90.
Savage, R. H., and Gunter, Mrs. A. C. His Cuban Sweetheart. Home Publishing Co.
Schammen, Prof. Johannes. Legends of German Heroes of the Middle Ages. Maynard, Merrill & Co. 40c.
Theobald, F. V. Insect Life: A Short Account of the Classification and Habits of Insects. London: Methuen & Co.
The Union College Practical Lectures. (Butterfield Course.) Vol. I. F. T. Neely.
Wheeler, Ida W. Siegfried the Mystic: A Novel. Boston: *Arena* Publishing Co.

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By Prof. H. S. WILLIAMS of Yale. 8vo, 395 pp., $2.80 *net:*

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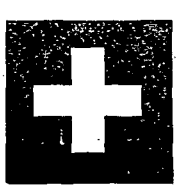

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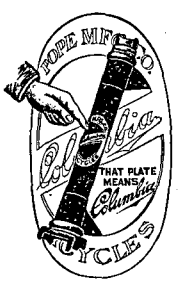

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